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INSTITUTION FOR STUDIES AND
RESEARCH IN HUMAN FORMATION

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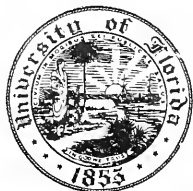
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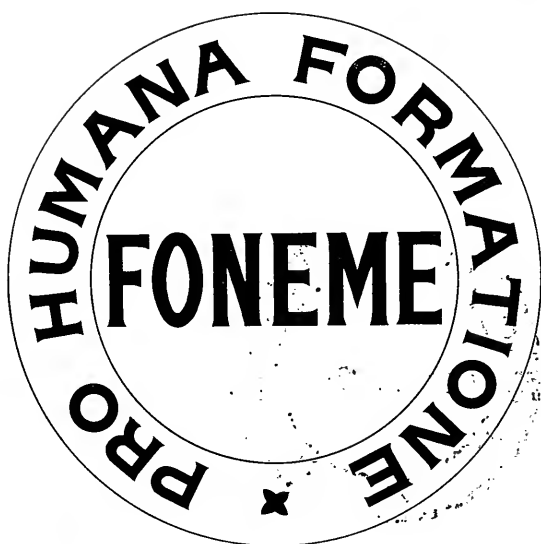
2nd INTERNATIONAL
CONVENTION
AND AWARDED
OF FONEME PRIZES
1969

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Milan, May 10-11, 1969

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*An Italian edition of this brochure is
also available.*

PREFACE

The second International FONEME Convention, followed by the ceremony for the Awarding of Prizes, was held in the Provincial Administration Congress Auditorium in Milan, on the 11th and 12th of May, 1969. Our Convention Programme proved to be of great interest for the highly qualified audience present and can be considered successful; we can also add that it was once again instrumental in fomenting new contributions to our knowledge of problems and possible solutions for these problems, related to the formative years of adolescence.

Details of the Programme, including reports and speeches read in the course of the Convention, as well as underlying motives which led to the Awards, are all given in the present volume, in chronological order.

The results of our preceding 1968 FONEME Convention have already been published in four languages and the volumes have been distributed in most major countries.

This is the second year that scholars and eminent personalities from various nations gather in Milan under the auspices of FONEME, thus fulfilling the aims set down by this Institution which was founded on February 24th, 1966, in Milan, by Mr. Nello Meoni (Cavaliere del Lavoro).

The principal goals which FONEME aims to achieve are the following:

- to create an International Center where material concerning research-studies and practical work related to formative human experience between adolescence and maturity can be assembled;
- to award, annually, three FONEME Prizes to individuals from any nation who, through research-studies or practical work, have enhanced the value and given deeper meaning to this field of study; each FONEME Prize consists of a sum of money (3.000.000 lire), a gold medal and a parchment giving the reasons for the Award;
- to organize national and international conventions.

This idea arose following investigations which revealed that while problems inherent to the formative years between birth and adolescence were successfully followed by scholars and scientists in every field, the same did not hold true for the period extending from adolescence to maturity. It is therefore to this particular period that FONEME resolved to concentrate its efforts and field of action.

As provided by our Institution statutory laws, our international Convention followed by the award of FONEME Prizes will take place annually, on the 2nd Sunday of May and on the preceding Saturday as well.

Each year, six speakers will be chosen from different countries and asked to present a report based on a theme related to problems inherent to the formative years between adolescence and maturity. The three FONEME Prizes will be awarded to individuals who have distinguished themselves in this field, either in their studies of the problem or in the elaboration of relative solutions, in line with the very aims and activities to which FONEME is dedicating its work.

1969 FONEME ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

President: Prof. Dott. Giovanni Polvani
Vice President: Avv. Dott. Adrio Casati
Members: Rag. Mario Bellardi
Dott. Guido Capelli
Avv. Prof. Mario Dondina
Avv. Dott. Dida Gualtierotti
Dott. Ing. Giuseppe Lauro
Dr. Otto Leitolf
Com.te Giuseppe Rondoni
Dott. Luigi Rusca

1969 FONEME PAPERS COMMITTEE

President: Prof. Dott. Giovanni Polvani
Vice President: Avv. Prof. Mario Dondina
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Secretary: Com.te Giuseppe Rondoni

1969 FONEME PRIZE JURY

President: Avv. Dott. Adrio Casati
Vice President: Dott. Luigi Rusca
Members: Avv. Dott. Dida Gualtierotti
Dott. Ing. Giuseppe Lauro
Secretary: Dr. Otto Leitolf

PROGRAMME OF THE 1969 FONEME INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION

Congress Hall of the "Amministrazione Provinciale" - Milano, Via Corridoni 16.

Saturday, May 10, 1969

- 9,30 h a.m. - Mr. Nello Meoni, President of Foneme, and Avv. Prof. Mario Dondina, Vice President of the Papers Committee, open the Convention.
- 10,15 h a.m. - Prof. Dr. méd. Maurice Lamy (France), member of the Académie de Médecine, delivers his paper on "L'influence des erreurs chromosomiques sur le développement statural, pubertaire et psychique" (The influence of certain chromosome abnormalities on puberty, physical and psychic development).
- 11,15 h a.m. - Father John E. Blewett, S.J., Ph. D. (USA), adviser on Education to Jesuit Superior-General, delivers his paper on "Student movements - A comparative view".
- 4,00 h p.m. - Mrs. Henryka Veillard-Cybulska, Dr.jur. (Poland), Professor of criminology, formerly President of Juvenile Court, delivers her paper on "Les apports des sciences humaines au traitement des mineurs délinquants" (Contributions made by the human sciences in methods of treatment of juvenile delinquents).
- 5,15 h p.m. - Dr. Enrico Mattei (Italy), editor of the daily paper "La Nazione", delivers his speech on "L'influenza della stampa e della televisione sulla formazione morale e politica delle nuove generazioni" (The influence of the press and of television in the moral and political formation of the new generations).

Sunday, May 11, 1969

- 9,45 h a.m. - Mr. J. M. Tanner, M.D., D.Sc., M.R.C.P. (Great Britain), Professor of Child Health and Growth at the University of London, delivers his paper on "The trend towards earlier physical maturation of children, 1850-1965".
- 10,30 h a.m. - Prof. S. N. Eisenstadt (Israel), Professor of Sociology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, delivers his paper on "Changing patterns of youth protest in different stages of development of modern societies".

AWARDING OF FONEME PRIZES FOR 1969

Congress Hall of the "Amministrazione Provinciale" - Milano, Via Corridoni 16.

Sunday, May 11, 1969

- 11,45 h a.m. - Avv. Adrio Casati, President of the Prize Jury, introduces the awarding of the three FONEME Prizes to:
- Dr. Franco BRAMBILLA (Italy)
Founder and President of the "Programma I.A.R.D." (Discovery of and Assistance to Gifted Children)
- Dr. phil. Maria EGG (Switzerland)
Founder and Director of the "Heilpädagogischen Hilfsschulen der Stadt Zürich" (City School for Retarded Children)
- Prof. Erik H. ERIKSON (USA)
Professor of Human Development and Lecturer on Psychiatry at Harvard University.

Before turning to the official opening of the Convention, Avv. Prof. Dondina expressed his regrets that Prof. Dott. Polvani, President of the Organizing Committee, would not be able to preside the meeting, due to sudden illness. Avv. Dondina, Vice-President of the Papers Committee, consequently took the Chair of the President, and communicated the following telegram:

"Very sorry not to be able take part in FONEME International Convention, due to sudden illness - Please accept sincere apologies and best wishes for success praiseworthy initiative. Polvani".

Avv. Brusoni, Vice-President of the Provincial Administration Board, then rose to speak, addressing words of greetings to the Authorities who had kindly accepted to be present on this occasion, to the FONEME President, to his collaborators and to all those present in the audience. Underlining the interest with which the Province of Milan Authorities have always followed the activities sponsored by FONEME, Avv. Brusoni then gave a brief outline of the aims and goals of the Institution, in line with the promotion of studies and their practical applications on the part of scholars all over the world in connection with the formative years of adolescence. Avv. Brusoni concluded his address by expressing the hope that the activities sponsored by FONEME would meet with ever-growing success and that this initiative would become more and more widely known with time.

Before introducing Cav. del Lavoro Nello Meoni, Avv. Dondina read out the contents of a telegram received from the Honourable Giuseppe Saragat, President of the Republic:

"Aside from expressing my disappointment at not being present at inauguration ceremony 2nd FONEME International Convention and Prize-giving ceremony, kindly extend cordial greetings Convention Participants and congratulations to Prize-winners for this gratifying acknowledgement attributed to them. Cordially - Giuseppe Saragat".

Among the numerous Authorities and Personalities who expressed their support and approbation through letters and telegrams, we should mention:

Hon. Sandro Pertini, President of the Chamber of Deputies
Hon. Amintore Fanfani, President of the Senate
Hon. Mariano Rumor, Cabinet President
Hon. Pietro Nenni, Cabinet Vice-President and Foreign Secretary
Hon. Vittorio Colombo, Minister of Foreign Commerce
Hon. Mario Ferrari Aggradi, Minister of Education
Hon. Franco Restivo, Home Secretary
Hon. Camillo Ripamonti, Minister of Health
Hon. Mario Tanassi, Minister of Industry
Card. Giovanni Colombo, Archbishop of Milan
Hon. Giulio Andreotti, Member of Parliament (deputy)
Hon. Giovanni Malagodi, Member of Parliament (deputy)
Hon. Aldo Moro, Member of Parliament (deputy)
Hon. Flaminio Piccoli, Member of Parliament (deputy)
Prof. Giordano Dell'Amore, Chancellor of the Bocconi University in Milan
Prof. Giuseppe Lazzati, Chancellor of the Catholic University in Milan
Cav. del Lavoro Radice Fossati, President of the Milan Chamber of Commerce



Mr. Nello Meoni, President of FONEME, delivers his introduction speech.

Introduction speech delivered by the President of the Institute, Cav. del Lav. Nello Meoni.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Institution I greet you most warmly and I thank all those present at the 1969 FONEME manifestations, and a cordial, affectionate welcome to the Prize winners and Lecturers.

A special word of thanks goes to the Presidents, Vice-Presidents, to the members of the Organizing Committee, of the Papers Committee and of the Prize awarding Jury for their sound and keen contribution.

This is the second year in which the FONEME manifestations are held. Those of 1968 — the first ones — ended not only as we had planned, but with quite superior results than we had anticipated and these results are shown by the important scientific and cultural material collected in the resultant volume which is being diffused successfully throughout the World.

The value of this publication is better understood knowing that this year too and also in the coming years the lectures given at the FONEME meetings — together with other material — will be published in book form, thus creating a collection of written works and testimony which cannot be left out of consideration and from which the scholar — wishing to deal with the big problem of *Human Formation From Adolescence To Maturity* — will be able to draw from quite fully.

In summoning these international meetings, FONEME has had in mind to bring together and to collect methodically scientific and knowledgeable contributions able to enrich and to assist the study of the various parts which concern the formation of man in the period chosen by us. The outcome to be derived will form the hoped-for reward of our work.

This second International Convention introduces six renowned Lecturers from different countries, who will talk on diverse subjects on a high level of specialisation, springing from years of experience and work dedicated to an affectionate and implicitly confidential study of young peoples' problems. The volume to be published will bear, apart from the texts of the six lecturers, an appendix constituted by three papers respectively by Dr. Franco Brambilla, Dr. Maria Egg and Prof. Erik Erikson. Thus, we shall have nine enlightened opinions to enrich the scientific wealth of our initiative. To the bearers of so much knowledge goes the maximum gratitude of FONEME!

In bestowing the FONEME Awards, apart from bearing witness to real merit, the Institution has in mind to carry out a solemn gesture, to be repeated each year, to call the attention of everyone to the great, fundamental objective of man's formation.

The 1969 Awards will be presented tomorrow to three persons, meritorious in the field of studies and in action, and I trust they will be pleased with this recognition, not for the value of the Award in itself, but rather for its great significance.

To-day's critical and confused situation will certainly bring changes and will create new needs, making all the more difficult the answers to the questions posed for a healthy formation of mankind, so that youth may mature and be capable of worthwhile usefulness. It is an imperative duty to act and to act without hesitation. But how? And this is the question that mature men and women, as individuals and as members of society, must try to answer because the responsibility is theirs.

I say "their responsibility and their duty" believing this to be a fundamental conception and one deserving deep reflection, because, far more than one imagines, this conception must constitute a basic course in future orientation to reach, within the limits of human possibility, the highest aim. This concept may seem obvious and already reached, but, in my opinion, in a far from sufficient manner, as we see from everyday happenings.

How and when does youth reach maturity and how should one contemplate their various possibilities? How are we to prevent the mistakes or limit them to avoid them becoming irreparable? How are we to bring up to date the standard of judgement in view of the continuous changeable aspect of the surroundings? And finally, what should be done so that youth may reach maturity in the best possible manner?

To these and to other questions mature men and women must endeavour to find a reply, contributing their experience, through moral laws, through scientific achievement and, above all, with high intentions of belief and of will-power. The localisation and placing in concrete form of all responsibility are the basic points, in order to arrive at an understanding of, and to establish the necessary work for the benefit of young people, and, after all, in the interest of global society in its laborious and yet magnificent journey on earth.

Young people must be brought up, educated and led to maturity, but all this does not come about suddenly and the same levels are not reached in every case - some people understand the necessity of their gradual introduction

into society whereas others are less sensitive to teaching and discipline. Anyhow, and in every case, responsibility and the duty to be performed are those of mature men and women, singly and collectively, being authors and custodians of customs and habits by which human life is guided.

We know that young people need affection, assistance and guidance, and if necessary suitable discipline; we are aware that during their formative years timely intervention can yield optimum results and we know just how much is being done to-day. But all this is insufficient because regarding this problem we are neither tranquil nor sufficiently confident. Fresh research and new conclusions are absolutely necessary!

No problem can be taken to a satisfactory conclusion without a precise knowledge of the terms of reference and a clear singling out of the objectives to be reached. Without knowledge one cannot arrive at the necessary wisdom to reach valid solutions.

The overall theme to which FONEME is trying to contribute is to discover and understand as much as possible the indispensable needs in the formation of mankind and to arrive at wise deductions - limiting our attention to that period of life starting with adolescence on to maturity.

With this plan in mind our work is about to commence and will have all our keen and ardent assistance, both now and in the years to come.



A view of the Congress Hall during the manifestations.

1969 FONEME INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION
on human formation
from adolescence to maturity



Avv. Prof. Mario Dondina, Vice-President of the Papers Committee, opens the International Convention.

Speech delivered by the vice-president of the Papers Committee, Avv. Prof. Mario Dondina.

As Vice-President of the Papers Committee, of which Prof. Polvani is President, and as a member of the Organizing Committee, I should like first of all to thank everyone for coming and extend a warm welcome to all present, and to the Authorities in particular, among whom we note His Excellency Doctor Mario Trimarchi, First President of the Court of Appeals in Milan, and Doctor Lino Montagna, Education Councillor for Milan, who have always shown so much interest in the problems under discussion.

Undoubtedly, Prof. Polvani would have expressed himself in quite different terms from mine on this occasion. In fact, Prof. Polvani has had wide experience in scientific and didactic matters, which are quite remote from my own field of experience. I shall therefore limit myself to propose a few ideas for your consideration, which in my opinion may help to enlighten you as to the aims of this important Congress.

In the first place I should like to point out the broad outlines of the aims our FONEME proposes to achieve. As you may observe, by referring to the program planned for this occasion, it consists of two parts: first of all, the delivery of several reports written by eminent scientists as a contribution to the research studies undertaken in this field, and secondly the award of Prizes to people who have distinguished themselves, through their published works and activities, in their endeavour to find solutions to problems relating to adolescence

— this period of human life of great significance from the social and moral standpoint. Avvocato Adrio Casati, President of the Jury for the Awarding of Prizes, will speak to us on this subject tomorrow, since he was not able to be with us today because of previous engagements.

I should also like to ask you to bear in mind that, contrary to common practice, debates will not follow the reports, in view of the fact that this institution was created, through the generosity of its founder, as an instrument of diffusion of scientific knowledge relating to the wide and delicate field of psychic and physical formation of youth. This end has been reached by obtaining high level monographs, which were then meant to be read by the authors themselves, and which would then form the basis for further discussions elsewhere, either in Italy or abroad.

In the final analysis, FONEME offers a wide range of subjects from which to choose, to all scholars in this field. These subjects range from those which may have already been considered in the past to fresh subjects, which can subsequently be submitted as subjects of discussion wherever interest is shown, not only for theoretical purposes but for practical ends as well.

It need not, therefore, appear too surprising that debates will not follow the reports; this will take place in other circumstances, under the sponsorship of those who are directly concerned with the subject and at various levels: cultural, didactic, religious, political, economic, sociological, moral etc., and who may consider these arguments worthy of being brought to general attention. Their task will be considerably lightened due to the fact that these reports are published yearly, after our Congress has taken place.

A complete volume of reports and speeches delivered at our last Congress, and beautifully bound by the publishers, is already in circulation. The number of these volumes will gradually increase with the growing number of annual Congresses and will constitute an abundant source of material drawn from opinions and experiences, and available to all for further development.

Thus, these means of giving wider diffusion to the results achieved by our Congresses, will further encourage the development of wider fields of research in connection with ways and means which will contribute to a better formation of youth and their personalities.

It is obviously superfluous for me to stop and consider at length the extent to which the general theme of all FONEME Congresses — man's formation from adolescence to maturity — continues to be of general interest, since it deals with recurring human conditions which evolve with the mutations of time, and whose origins can be traced to the very moment when man first came face to face with a process of civilization.

The collected works of FONEME are then destined to become an irreplaceable basis for just solutions to the countless and complex problems involved in the formation of man from adolescence to maturity.

What then are the aspects which need to be considered in the study of man's formation? First of all, we must obviously consider the question from the point of view of physical development, particularly in connection with health problems related to youth, which include a series of problems from suitable diets, to physical exercise, from periodical medical check-ups to the creation of suitable environments in which to study or work. We must also consider the question in respect to the place held by youth in their home environments and their eventual social adaptation to society in general; in this context their political formation assumes great importance, since, no matter what orientation it may take, it

should not deviate from the fundamental principles of liberty and democracy. Then it must also be viewed in terms of cultural values, which are derived mainly from educational opportunities; and we cannot omit pastimes as legitimate factors, which can directly or indirectly influence young people's character, sentiments or moral equilibrium.

It is not my intention here to dwell into the global aspects of the question (too vast for me to examine in these brief and general observations) but to me the problems relating to the right choice of a career are of vital importance. This implies not only the careful consideration of aptitudes shown but also, and this is very important, the financial means necessary for proper technical or scientific training.

All of these various aspects of the question involve problems which must be duly assumed by adults, since they alone have the responsibility to advise young people as to the right path to follow because of their experience, their economic possibilities and also, why not, because of the natural affection they feel towards the young, who really need every bit of it (whether they are conscious of it or not).

The research-studies which FONEME is promoting, can also be of invaluable assistance to adults in general, and to those who are particularly interested in the psycho-physical formation of youth.

We must not, however, overlook the fact that the collaboration of youth is essential in this endeavour. We cannot speak with one voice only, we cannot hear the sound of one bell only; a dialogue between youth and adults must be established. In our actual era of rapid technico-scientific progress, and its direct effects on socio-political questions, the problems we are facing in connection with youth today are increasingly serious and preoccupying. They are clearly evident when we stop and consider youth movements, which today have taken the form of youth protest movements (more or less global in their manifestations).

It may be true that so far these protest movements have involved only a minority of young people, but they nevertheless can be said to have double-edged effects on society as a whole, as well as on those individuals who inspired them or participate in them.

In fact, even if we are to grant that the right to protest may be legitimate, in so far as it may be considered a valid form of criticism towards an existing system, with the intention of securing improvements within the structures of this system, we can also claim that these movements become illegitimate and detrimental when they are actuated through violent means, with complete disregard for private or public property and specially when they involve dangers for the physical safety of others.

These militant movements may lead to such upheavals that we cannot help but ask ourselves if they are really proportionate to the ends they are meant to achieve (when they have any) or really serving the interest of those for whom or in whose name they claim to go into action.

No one can deny that protest movements have remote origins, even if in the past they were known under different names.

One can actually go so far as to say, without undue irreverence, that in all the great founders of religions certain rebellious characteristics can be found which moved them to action, from Jesus Christ to Confucius, from Buddha to Mohammed. And what about the great religious reformers such as Saint Francis or Martin Luther?

In the field of politics we have seen individuals like Karl Marx and Mazzini emerge from the masses, who were undoubtedly contesting the institutions and social systems of their times (the ideologists and supporters of the French Revolution deserve long and ponderous consideration). In the field of letters, only to remain within the confines of our own country and mention only a few, Vittorio Alfieri, Ugo Foscolo, Giosuè Carducci and D'Annunzio broke away from all existing traditions. Numerous examples can be found in the world of figurative arts (from Giotto to El Greco, and in modern art from Marinetti to Picasso). In the field of racial politics we have Gandhi and Luther King, two examples among the many who managed to carry out radical reforms through mass support, which by the way were actuated by non-violent means unlike the manifestations we are witnessing today. Even in legal circles, under certain aspects, new ideas seem to be fermenting in regards to antiquated laws retained as valid until recent times: if we stop and consider certain aspects of judicial penal law and punitive measures, which most directly concern society in general, our thoughts immediately turn to Cesare Beccaria and Enrico Ferri in Italy, who, through theories advanced and their published works, contributed to the elaboration of reforms which were then actuated not only in Italy but in other countries as well, in conformity with their teachings.

These men, who can justly be considered as benefactors of humanity brought definite contributions for the renewal of social structures through rational means of persuasion and not through impulsive and indiscriminate manifestations against people and property.

On the other hand, considering further these violent youth movements in general, we must also concede that a certain amount of self-criticism on the part of adults is absolutely necessary in this case. Actually numerous unsustainable situations are still accepted as valid in our present society, for which unfortunately no rapid solution can be found unless one applies to violence: this may be a depressing state of affairs from the ethical-juridical point of view but it can easily be understood from the practical point of view, when we stop and consider the slow pace and lack of comprehension on the part of competent administrative and political authorities who should take definite action in the face of serious problems concerning large sections of the population. They, on the other hand, are ready to take action only under the pressure of acts of violence, but their subsequent measures will only prove to be hasty, incomplete and often demagogical.

This all leads one to think that many excessive manifestations of violence could be avoided if the competent authorities became aware of these critical situations in time, and made an effort to find solutions before the explosion of blind violence actually takes place: this applies not only to the case of workers occupying factories or proclaiming their rights through union manifestations, but also (and this is of particular interest to us) to the actual burning problems connected with schools in general — be it secondary school or university — (the elementary schools have not to my knowledge, applied to mass manifestations up to the present, even if they too could find ample grounds for justifications).

This reticence to act promptly on the part of the competent authorities undoubtedly creates a general state of uneasiness, in the same way as the resulting reactions create uneasiness. This is particularly felt by the judicial authorities who should be in a position to guarantee that the Law, so seriously violated on past occasions, should be respected by all. The same is true for the respon-

sible organs of public order, which have often been severely criticized because of their intervention in the more dramatic and tense situations.

Therefore, if violence is to be condemned, it should first of all be avoided. One of the fundamental aims of our FONEME Congresses is to contribute, within our limits, to the creation of better relationships between youth and adults, based on understanding, without having to apply, as youth often does, to the usual manifestations of violent disorders during which the motivations which inspired them are often misconstrued or buried under superimposed slogans, often foreign to the cause and against their own interest. These too often lead to unpredictable fearsome consequences, brought about by the rash influence of a few ruffians who succeed in becoming their leaders.

We, rightly, can only continue to hope that one day young people and adults will be able to meet and discuss their problems serenely, and that these same young people will enjoy equal rights to expose and discuss questions regarding their aspirations and criticisms as well. The adults, in turn, must learn to listen with patience and understanding so as to facilitate exchange of ideas and opinions, from which final coordinated conclusions can be drawn to the mutual satisfaction of all concerned.

To listen does not, however, imply imposing one's views, nor assuming overbearing attitudes, nor trying to overwhelm the opponent.

To rebellious youth, who in effect are still a minority, who preclude all chances of dialogue with adults, through their firm ideological attitudes, we in turn should point out: what would you do if we, of the older generation, who have been so often criticized, derided or even insulted, decided to cease, as an anti-protest reaction, all our activities? If we, as parents, decided to tighten our purse strings and stopped giving money to our children, those children who have risen in protest against us; if teachers abandoned their posts and said to their pupils: go and look after yourselves, go and learn wherever and in whatever manner you wish; if all public services ceased to function; if shops and centers of public entertainment closed; if those and all other services organized and run by adults suddenly stopped all activities, what would you, the young, be able to do?

It is essential therefore that this dialogue be established on the basis of mutual understanding. We, as adults, must show ourselves capable of the utmost comprehension, but at the same time we must insist that discussions take place under favourable and serene circumstances; we must also show ourselves to be ready to accept criticism, but at the same time we must not allow prejudiced opposition to suffocate each and every one of our thoughts.

Our society, based on technological progress, on liberty and democracy, was created by those who suffered the ill-effects of two world wars, often with peril to their own lives, but who, on both occasions, faced the tasks involved in reconstruction with courage and determination.

We have now reached a stage in our society when the short working week has become a reality, when long vacations in Italy and abroad can be enjoyed by many young people, when higher standards of living, under all aspects, have now been reached by many: the credit for all this cannot be assumed by the young protest marchers, but by the adults who should be the object of well-deserved gratitude.

This does not necessarily mean that the present development of the society we helped to create cannot be improved, and young people, in the future, should or rather must assist in this task.

This hoped-for dialogue between youth and adults must therefore be of such nature as to give renewed hope to the young, who are and have always been close to our hearts, who have given us great cause for anxiety, but at the same time are the very keystone of our existence and it must be same for us adults, to give us renewed faith and encouragement at a time when we sorely feel the need of it.

But most of all, let us hope that the young may learn to live harmoniously among themselves and avoid splitting into groups, as it is happening actually, thus compromising their future, which, from all evidence, shows signs of improvements over our own past and even the present.

In closing, I should like to extend my most affectionate good wishes to young people in general. But if they are to be realized it is essential that these young people begin to prepare themselves seriously for their future role, as fellow workers, in our society. This they must do through a rational process of maturation, both modern and wise, along the same lines that our FONEME Institution aims to develop and facilitate through its incomparable program of research-studies and its noble initiatives.

L'INFLUENCE DES ERREURS CHROMOSOMIQUES SUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT STATAL, PUBERTAIRE ET PSYCHIQUE

par Maurice Lamy



Le rapporteur Prof. Dr. méd. Maurice Lamy, membre de l'Académie de Médecine.

Les chromosomes constituent la substance active des noyaux qui occupent toutes nos cellules. Nous savons aujourd'hui que ce sont des bâtonnets d'acide désoxyribonucléique, bâtonnets qui sont visibles au moment où la cellule se divise.

Les chromosomes sont les véritables supports de l'hérédité. En effet, tout au long de ces chromosomes sont disposés des éléments que nous appelons des gènes et à l'action desquels nous devons les caractères, qu'ils soient normaux ou qu'ils soient pathologiques, que nous tenons de nos ascendants.

Le nombre des chromosomes varie avec chaque espèce animale et végétale. Chez l'homme, leur nombre exact a été longtemps méconnu. Il a été longtemps traditionnel d'écrire et d'enseigner que ce nombre est de 48. Depuis l'année 1956, nous savons qu'il n'en ait rien. L'espèce humaine ne possède que 46 chromosomes répartis en vingt-trois paires.

La longueur et la forme de ces éléments sont variables. Ils ont été l'objet d'un classement et affectés d'un numéro de un à vingt-deux. Il s'agit de ceux qui ne jouent pas de rôle dans la détermination du sexe et qui portent le nom d'autosomes.

La dernière paire, la vingt-troisième, est faite de deux éléments qui portent le nom de chromosomes sexuels ou encore de gonosomes: ce sont eux qui déterminent le sexe. Chez la femme, en effet, il existe une paire de chro-



Fig. 1: Les chromosomes dans l'espèce humaine.

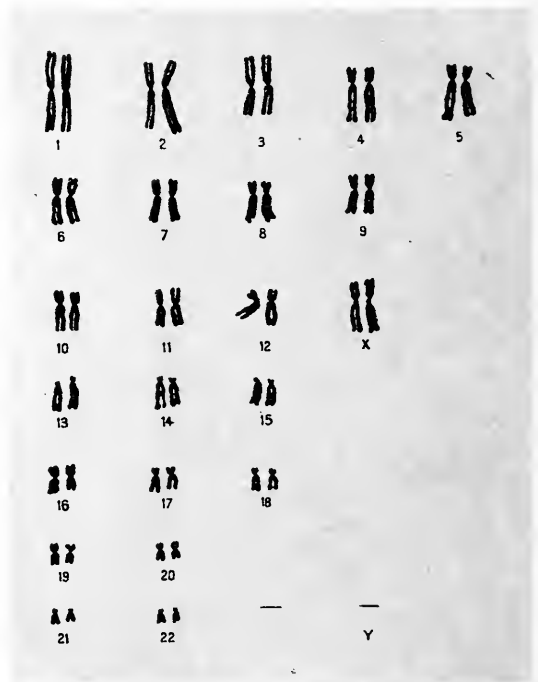


Fig. 2: Caryotype féminin: X X

mosomes semblables, les chromosomes X. Chez l'homme, au contraire, on constate la présence de deux chromosomes différents, un chromosome X et un autre dont la taille est plus réduite, le chromosome Y. J'ouvre ici une parenthèse pour rappeler que la détermination du sexe d'un enfant est uniquement le fait de l'homme. Si la cellule sexuelle mâle, le spermatozoïde, qui féconde l'ovule est porteur d'un X, l'embryon se développe comme une fille. Au contraire, si la fécondation est due à un spermatozoïde porteur d'un chromosome Y, l'enfant est un garçon.

Nous savons aujourd'hui qu'un accident peut se produire soit au moment de la *méiose*, c'est-à-dire, de la formation des cellules sexuelles, les gamètes, soit au moment des premières *mitoses*, des premières divisions de l'oeuf fécondé.

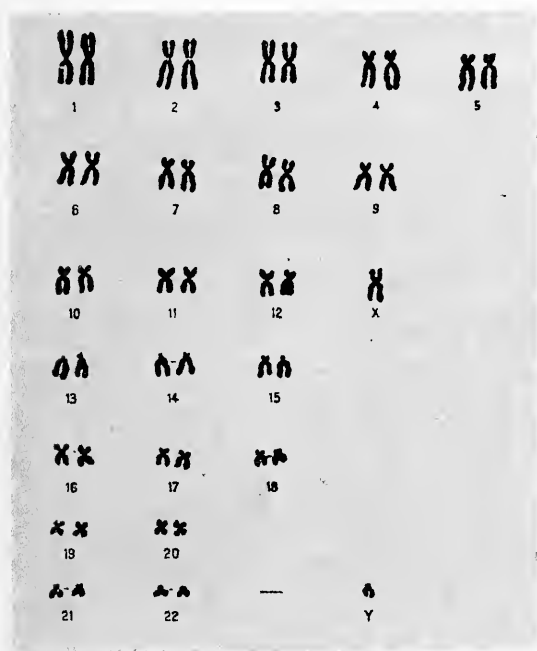


Fig. 3. Caryotype masculin. X Y

Ces accidents peuvent toucher les autosomes mais aussi les gonosomes. Ils peuvent être de plusieurs sortes. L'anomalie peut porter sur le nombre, qu'il s'agisse d'un excès ou d'un défaut. Le nombre des chromosomes au lieu d'être de 46, peut être de 45, ou bien, au contraire, de 47.

Il peut s'agir aussi d'une anomalie de structure, d'une amputation, d'une délétion, comme disent les spécialistes, d'un « bras » chromosomique.

Parfois l'accident modifie la forme de l'élément, aboutissant à la constitution d'un *isochromosome* dont les bras, à l'opposé de ce qui se passe à l'état normal, sont d'une longueur égale, ou encore à la constitution d'un chromosome « en anneau ».

Il peut arriver aussi qu'un fragment de chromosome ou qu'un chromosome tout entier soit transporté, transféré, « transloqué » d'un chromosome sur un autre. De tous ces phénomènes, résulte une perte ou un excès de matériel chromosomique, un déséquilibre dont les conséquences sont toujours fâcheuses. Ces conséquences portent sur la taille qui, le plus souvent, est réduite et parfois, au contraire, est élevée. Elles touchent souvent la puberté — qui se produit avec retard ou même ne se produit pas du tout — et, plus tard, la fécondité. Enfin, elles agissent sur le développement de l'intelligence et du caractère.

Quelques exemples nous aideront à comprendre l'importance de ces phénomènes.

Nous savons aujourd'hui ce qu'est le mongolisme, un ensemble malformatif que caractérisent une petite taille, un aspect particulier du visage, une mollesse

spéciale des muscles, une modification des lignes de la main et une arriération psychique grossière.

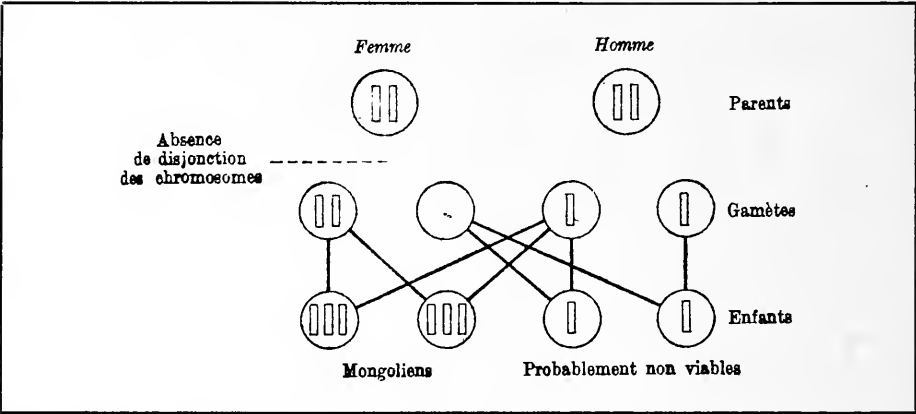


Fig. 4: Absence de disjonction de la paire chromosomique 21

Le *mongolisme* était connu des médecins depuis fort longtemps, mais ils étaient fort en peine pour en expliquer la cause et le mécanisme. Depuis les travaux de Raymond Turpin et Jérôme Lejeune, nous savons que les mongoliens possèdent 47 chromosomes au lieu de 46, le chromosome supplémentaire étant représenté par l'un des plus petits, celui qui, dans la classification internationale, porte le numéro 21, d'où le nom de *trisomie 21* que l'on tend à donner aujourd'hui à la maladie.

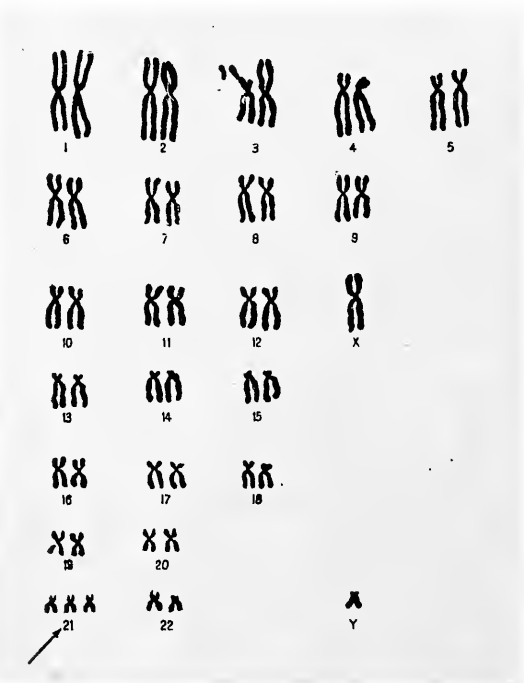


Fig. 5: Trisomie 21 (mongolisme)

D'autres anomalies malformatives, plus rares, ont été décrites, qui résultent d'une aberration portant sur les paires chromosomiques 13 et 18.

La trisomie 13, découverte par K. Patau, est caractérisée par une arriération mentale profonde, l'éclosion d'accès convulsifs et la présence de malformations graves portant sur la face, les extrémités et aussi sur le coeur. La mort survient d'ordinaire dans le cours de la première année.

La trisomie 18, mise en évidence par J. H. Edwards, se révèle par des anomalies malformatives de la face, des mains, des pieds, du thorax, du bassin et des organes génitaux. Des malformations aussi sévères et aussi étendues provoquent un décès précoce, dès les premières semaines ou les premiers mois de la vie.

Il existe d'autres troubles qui sont, eux-aussi, d'origine chromosomique. Par exemple, la perte d'un fragment de chromosome qui survient parfois au moment d'une division cellulaire peut entraîner des malformations. Avec Jean de Grouchy, j'ai observé un ensemble malformatif compliqué d'arriération mentale qui s'expliquait par la perte partielle du bras court d'un chromosome 18. La délétion du bras long de ce même chromosome — nous l'avons constaté — entraîne aussi des anomalies corporelles et une déficience mentale. J. Lejeune a décrit une délétion du bras court du chromosome 5; elle se traduit par des malformations diverses, un retard psychique et une modification du cri, qui, transformé en une sorte de miaulement, a fait donner à cette affection le nom de « maladie du cri du chat ».

Les aberrations qui nous intéressent le plus, puisque nous nous occupons aujourd'hui du développement physique et mental de l'enfant et de l'adolescent, sont celles qui touchent les chromosomes sexuels, les gonosomes.

Par suite d'une erreur de distribution au moment de la formation des gamètes, il arrive que l'oeuf fécondé ait reçu un gonosome de trop ou, à l'inverse, un chromosome de moins. Quatre éventualités sont donc possibles qui résultent d'une absence de disjonction. Dans ces conditions, certains gamètes ont reçu deux X au lieu d'un seul alors que d'autres n'en ont pas reçu du tout. Suivant que l'un ou l'autre de ces gamètes est fécondé par un gamète X ou Y, on aboutit à l'une des quatre combinaisons suivantes: OY, OX, XXY, XXX.

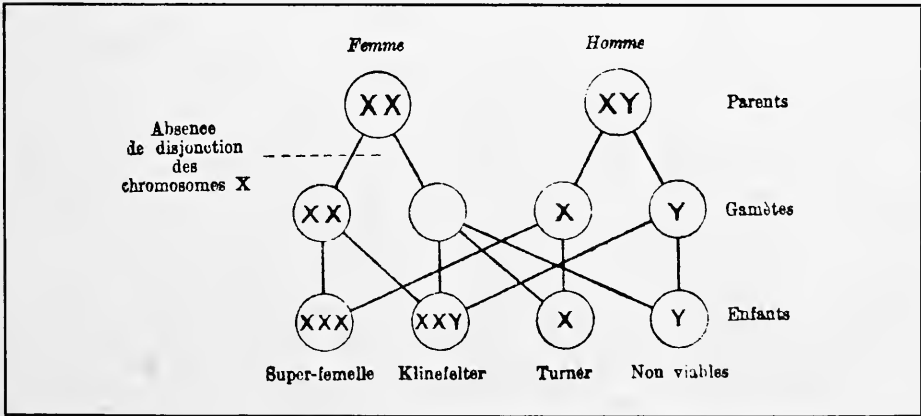


Fig. 6: Absence de disjonction de la paire chromosomique XX

Nous avons de fortes raisons de penser que l'absence du chromosome X est incompatible avec la vie. En termes de spécialiste, on dit que cette situation exerce un effet *létal*.

Les enfants qui possèdent le caryotype OX, c'est-à-dire, ceux qui ne sont possesseurs que d'un seul chromosome X, sont atteints d'un ensemble malformatif qui porte le nom de syndrome de Turner. Ce sont des sujets qui ont des formes féminines mais restent de très petite taille, qui sont porteurs de malformations cutanées, musculaires et éventuellement viscérales, de diverses natures, mais surtout chez lesquels les ovaires ne se développent pas et qui restent stériles.

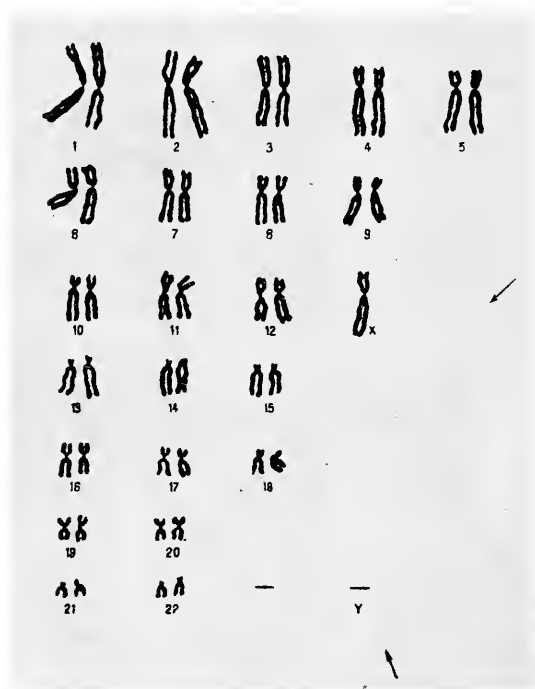


Fig. 7: Caryotype X O (syndrome de Turner).

Ceux qui ont reçu deux chromosomes X et un chromosome Y sont atteints d'un syndrome dit Klinefelter. Ils ont l'apparence d'un sujet du sexe masculin, leur taille est habituellement élevée mais, chez eux, les seins se développent d'une façon anormale; les spécialistes parlent ici de gynécomastie. Surtout, les glandes sexuelles mâles ont un développement insuffisant et, pour cette raison, ces patients restent stériles.

Reste la quatrième combinaison, celle qui entraîne la présence de trois chromosomes X au lieu de deux. Ces sujets, qui sont dits quelquefois des « superfemelles » ont un aspect féminin mais sont habituellement stériles et sont frappés de débilité mentale.

Des « supermâles », à leur tour, ont été découverts. Une « aberration » les a fait les héritiers non pas d'un seul chromosome Y mais de deux. Ils ont reçu un X d'origine maternelle et deux Y d'origine paternelle. Possédant quarante-sept chromosomes au lieu de quarante-six, ils ont pour formule XYY et, pour cette raison, sont dits quelquefois des « supermâles ».

Il y a trois ans, une généticienne de réputation internationale, Patricia Jacobs, mène une enquête dans les prisons et les asiles d'Ecosse où des hommes sont détenus pour des crimes de sang. Chez un dixième d'entre eux, elle note une taille élevée, un certain degré de débilité mentale, une tendance agressive et la présence d'un chromosome Y supplémentaire.



Fig. 8: Caryotype XXY (syndrome de Klinefelter).

Certes, des études complémentaires sont indispensables avant qu'il soit possible de parvenir à des conclusions nettes. Dès maintenant, nous pouvons affirmer que tous les criminels ne sont pas des « supermâles », il s'en faut de beaucoup. Il n'est pas douteux non plus que des individus porteurs d'un chromosome Y supplémentaire ont une intelligence normale et un comportement correct. Des enquêtes devront déterminer quelle est la proportion des sujets XYY chez les criminels d'une part, et dans la population générale de l'autre. Un recensement entrepris aux Etats-Unis donne une première estimation. Elle évalue à un sur trois cents le nombre des individus du sexe masculin porteurs de cette anomalie chromosomique qui risque de faire d'eux, un jour, et les circonstances aidant, des criminels.

On voit les conséquences très fâcheuses sur le développement physique, sur l'établissement de la puberté et sur la fécondité, sur l'intelligence et sur le caractère, de ces aberrations chromosomiques. Nous ignorons leur fréquence exacte mais si nous les additionnons, nous arrivons à un chiffre voisin de un pour cent naissances. Il naît un mongolien sur six cents nouveau-nés et, peut-être, un enfant XYY sur trois cents mâles.

Nous ignorons à dire vrai la cause de ces aberrations chromosomiques. Nous savons seulement que les mongoliens naissent avec une fréquence particulière chez une femme qui a dépassé l'âge de trente-six ans, dix fois plus souvent

peut-être que chez une femme plus jeune. Le même phénomène n'a pas été constaté en ce qui regarde les autres accidents chromosomiques et nous restons dans une ignorance complète à ce sujet.

Ce qu'il est très important de savoir et ce qu'il est essentiel de faire connaître aux parents qui ont donné naissance à un enfant touché par cette anomalie, c'est qu'il ne s'agit que d'un accident. A l'opposé de ce qui se passe dans le cas d'une maladie authentiquement héréditaire, il est exceptionnel qu'un tel trouble dans le mécanisme de la division cellulaire se produise une seconde fois.

L'expérience que les médecins ont acquise depuis l'application des techniques d'exploration chromosomique montre à quel point un équilibre rigoureux est indispensable au développement normal du corps et de l'esprit et aussi les désastreuses conséquences qu'entraîne son dérèglement.

THE INFLUENCE OF CERTAIN CHROMOSOME ABNORMALITIES ON PUBERTY, PHYSICAL AND PSYCHIC DEVELOPMENT

by Maurice Lamy

Chromosomes form the active substance of the nuclei found in all living cells. To-day we know that they consist of deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) rods which are visible at the time of cell division.

Chromosomes are the very basis of heredity. In fact, within these string-like chromosomes certain elements, known as *genes*, are arranged. These genes are the units which control the inheritance of characteristics, be they normal or pathological, transmitted from one generation to another.

The number of chromosomes varies in each species, be it plant or animal. In man, their exact number was not known for a long time. In the past, it was traditionally accepted as forty eight, both in writings and teaching. Since 1956 we have come to accept that it is not at all true. In the human species there are only 46 chromosomes divided in 23 pairs (see fig. 1). The length and shape of these elements vary and



Figure 1 - Chromosomes in the human species.

they have been classified and given a number from 1 to 22 (see fig. 2). These chromosomes do not play a role in sex determination and are called *autosomes*. The last pair, the 23rd, consists of two elements and are called sex chromosomes or *gonosomes*; they are responsible for the determination of sex. In fact, the female carries two similar chromosomes, the X chromosomes. In males, on the contrary, two different chromosomes are found, one X chromosome and one slightly smaller, known as the Y chromosome (see fig. 3). Here we might recall the fact that the sex of a child is determined by the sex chromosome of the father. If, during the union of the two cells, the spermatozoon or male sexual cell which fertilizes the ovum carries an X, the embryo will develop into a female. If, on the other hand, fertilization is due to a spermatozoon bearing a Y chromosome the child will be a male.

To-day we know that "accidents" can occur during *meiosis*, that is during the formation of the sexual cells, also known as gametes, or during the early stages of *mitosis*, that is during the early phases of divisions of the fertilized egg.

These "accidents" can affect the autosomes and the gonosomes as well. They can have different origins. The anomaly can affect the number, be it defective or excessive. The number of chromosomes could be 45 instead of 46, or else, on the contrary 47. The anomaly could also be of structural origin — of an amputation, of a deletion as specialists call it, of a chromosome "arm".

Sometimes, the "accident" modifies the shape of the element, eventually forming an

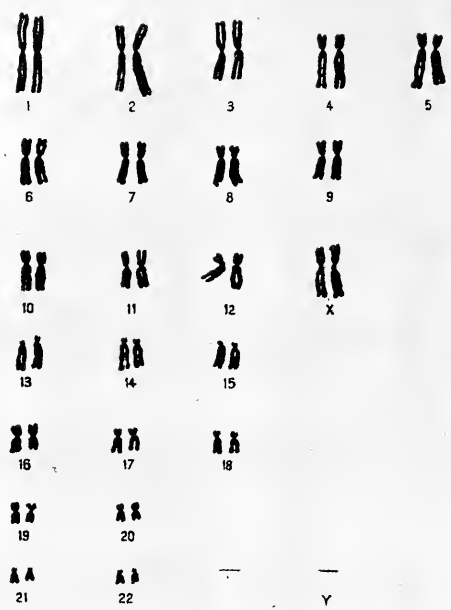


Figure 2 - Female karyotype XX.

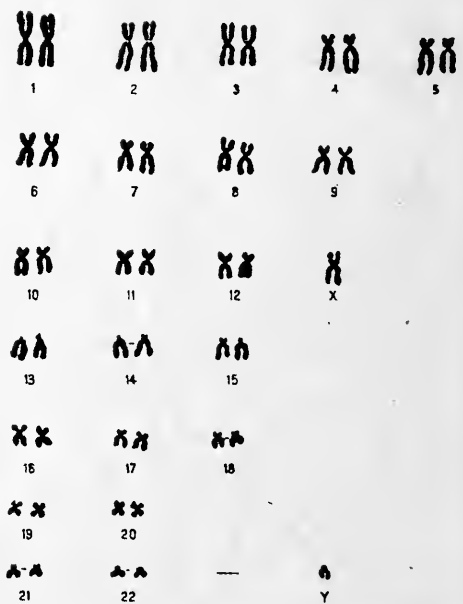


Figure 3 - Male karyotype XY.

isochromosome, the arms of which are equal, unlike those in the normal state; or it can also cause the chromosome to have a *ring-like formation*.

It can also happen that a fragment of chromosome or a whole chromosome should be carried over, transferred, "transplanted" from one chromosome to another.

All these phenomena can lead to a loss or to an excess of chromosome material, an

unbalanced condition which always leads to unfortunate consequences. These consequences specially affect stature which in most cases is reduced, and sometimes on the contrary is increased. They often affect puberty, which can be retarded or, in some cases, does not take place at all, and later fertility. Lastly, they affect the development of intelligence and character.

A few examples should be of help in understanding the importance of these phenomena. To-day the nature of mongolism is known — body malformations easily identified by below-average height, particular facial characteristics, a particular muscular softness, modifications in the lines of the hand and gross mental backwardness (see fig. 4).

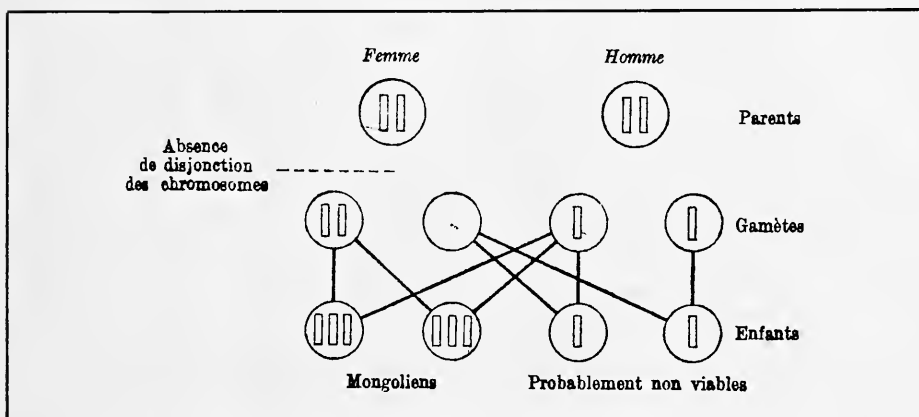


Figure 4 - Absence of separation in the chromosome pair bearing number 21.

Mongolism had been known to doctors for a very long time, but they felt very much at a loss when it came to explain its causes and the mechanism behind it. After the findings based on the research of Raymond Turpin and Jérôme Lejeune were published we learnt that mongoloids have 47 chromosomes instead of 46, the extra chromosome being represented by the smaller one, the one which, according to international classification, bears number 21, from which the name "*trisomy 21*" is derived, name under which the illness is now commonly known. (fig. 5)

Other abnormalities, although less common, have been discovered and described as resulting from chromosome aberrations of the chromosome pairs bearing numbers 13 and 18.

The characteristics of "*trisomy 13*", discovered by K. Patau are of arrested or incomplete development of the mind, convulsive attacks, abnormal facial characteristics as well as those of the extremities and also cardiac malformations. Death usually occurs during the first year of life.

Trisomy 18, as explained by J.H. Edwards, becomes evident through malformations of the face, hands, feet, thorax and pelvis as well as anomalies of the genital organs. Such severe and extensive malformations lead to early death, from the first weeks or months of life.

Other structural abnormalities can be traced to chromosome anomalies. For example, the loss of a chromosome fragment, which can occur at the time of cell division, can lead to malformations. Together with Jean de Grouchy I have observed a rather complex manifestation of malformation in severely retarded subjects due to the partial loss of the short "arm" of the chromosome listed as number 18. The deletion of the long "arm" of this same chromosome, according to our observations, leads to physical anomalies as well as mental deficiency. J. Lejeune, in his observations of the results of the deletion of the short "arm" of the chromosome known as number 5, writes: "the physical abnormalities are quite diversified, the subject can be mentally retarded and emit a strange cry, similar to the mewing of a cat, which has led scientists to call this disease the cat's cry disease".

The aberrations which are of greater interest to us to-day, since we are dealing

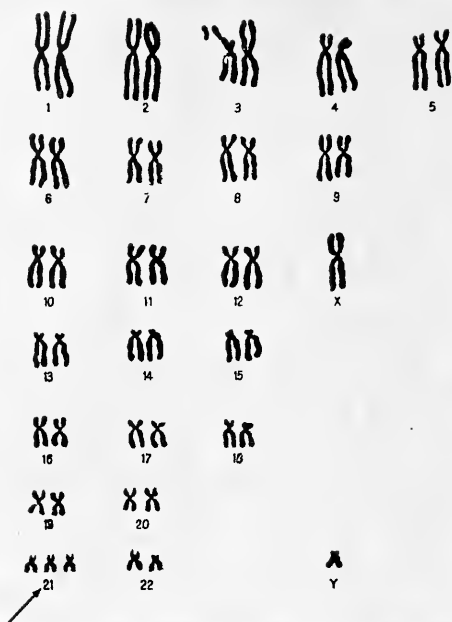


Figure 5 - Trisomy 21 (mongolism).

with the physical and mental development of children and adolescents, are those connected with the sexual chromosomes or gonosomes.

Through irregularities in assortment during the formation of the gametes, it may happen that the fertilized egg could receive an extra gonosome, or inversely, one less chromosome. We now have four possibilities as a result of the absence of separation of the chromosomes.

Under these conditions certain gametes have therefore received two X chromosomes instead of one while others have not received any at all. Now, depending on whether one or the other gamete is fertilized by an X or a Y gamete, the following four combinations are possible: — OY, OX, XXY, XXX. (fig. 6)

There is rather strong evidence to lead us to believe that absence of the X chromosome is incompatible with life. In scientific terms, this can then be qualified as a *lethal* effect. Children with the OX combination in their chromosome make-up, that is those having only one X chromosome, will be afflicted with a series of structural malformations

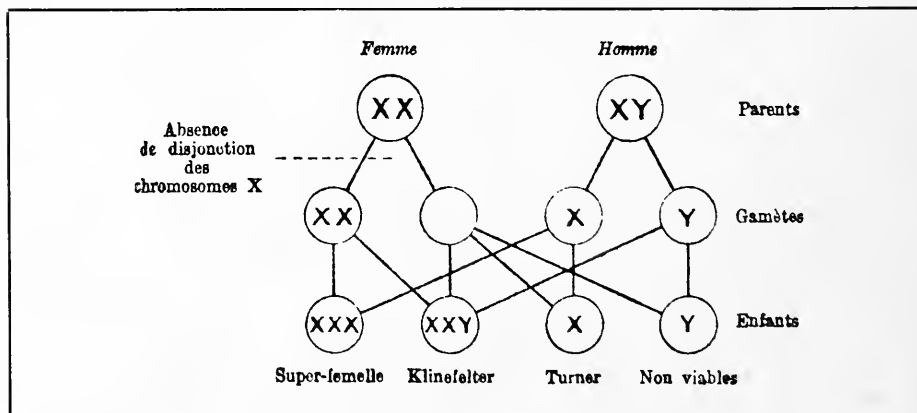


Figure 6 - Absence of separation in the XX chromosome pair.

known as *Turner's syndrome*. These subjects retain feminine characteristics but remain rather small, suffer from skin, muscular and eventually visceral malformations of various nature but, most important of all, their ovaries do not develop and these patients are doomed to sterility. (fig. 7)



Figure 7 - Chromosomes in the human species.

Those who have inherited two X chromosomes and one Y chromosome (XXY) will suffer from *Klinefelter's syndrome*. They have the characteristics of the male, they are usually tall, but in these subjects the breasts develop in an abnormal manner and specialists refer to this as '*gynecomastia*'. Most important of all the male sexual glands do not develop completely and for this reason the patients remain sterile. (fig. 8)

Now let us consider the fourth combination, the one which involves the presence of three X chromosomes instead of two. These subjects, sometimes referred to as '*super females*' look feminine but are usually sterile and suffer from mental debility. '*Super males*' have also been discovered. An "aberration" made them inherit not only a single Y chromosome but two. They have received an X from the mother and two Y from the father. Having 47 chromosomes instead of 46, their chromosome constitution results as XYY and, for this reason they are sometimes called '*super males*'.

Three years ago, a geneticist of international fame, Patricia Jacobs, undertook research work in prisons and mental homes in Scotland where men were detained for crimes involving bloodshed. Among one tenth of them she noted above-average stature, a certain degree of mental debility, aggressive tendencies and the presence of an additional Y chromosome. Undoubtedly, complementary research will be necessary before coming to definite conclusions. As of now, we can affirm that not all criminals are necessarily '*super males*' — far from it. Neither is there any doubt that individuals with the extra Y chromosome can have normal intelligence and a normal behaviour. Continued research should help to determine the proportion of XYY subjects among criminals on the one hand and among the general population on the other. A recent census undertaken in the United States gives the following evaluation: it is estimated that one out of 300 individuals of the male sex is afflicted by this particular chromosome anomaly and might be prone to criminality, given the suitable circumstances.

Thus, we see clearly the unfortunate consequences of these chromosome aberrations on physical development, the onset of puberty and fertility, as well as the development of intelligence and character. We do not yet have exact figures as to their frequency but if we add their number we come to an approximate figure of 1 % out of the total number of births. We have one mongoloid child out of 600 newly born and maybe one child with the XYY constitution out of 300 males.



Figure 8 - Caryotype XXY (Klinefelter's syndrome).

Actually we still ignore the basic cause of these chromosome aberrations. We know only that mothers over the age of thirty six give birth to mongoloid children more frequently than younger mothers, sometimes ten times as often as in the younger age group. This same phenomenon has not been observed in the other cases of chromosome "accidents" and, at the moment, we are still in complete ignorance of this particular aspect of the subject.

That which is important for us to know and to make known to the parents of a child born with such an anomaly is that it should be considered as an "accident". Quite opposite to what happens in the case of an authentic hereditary disease, it is exceptional that such anomaly in the mechanism of cellular division should occur a second time.

The experience acquired by medical doctors since the application of modern techniques in the exploration of chromosomes demonstrates to what extent a rigorous equilibrium is vital for the normal development of body and mind, and to what disastrous consequences irregularities in its mechanism can lead.

Translation from the original text in French, which we beg to refer to in case of doubt.

LES APPORTS DES SCIENCES HUMAINES AU TRAITEMENT DES DELINQUANTS (*) MINEURS

par H. Veillard-Cybulska



Le rapporteur Henryka Veillard-Cybulska, Dr. jur., Professeur, anc. Président de Tribunal pour Mineurs.

Introduction historique

« L'histoire des traitements réservés aux délinquants par les sociétés humaines est une histoire de la souffrance » (1). L'auteur d'une violation de la loi, majeur ou mineur, était considéré comme un misérable, un être « impur et impie » qui devait être puni par la communauté pour détourner la colère des dieux ou périr, même s'il n'était pas coupable.

C'est ainsi que la plus ancienne législation connue sous le nom du code de Hammourabi (deuxième millénaire av. J.C.) prévoyait par ex. que « si la maison en s'écroulant tue l'enfant du propriétaire, on doit mettre à mort l'enfant de l'architecte ». Ou encore, « si un homme a frappé une femme et si celle-ci meurt, on tuera la fille de l'agresseur » (2). Donc pour « rendre la justice », il faut tuer et pas nécessairement celui qui a causé la mort. On trouve la même idée dans le concept de la « vendetta » qui existe encore dans certains pays et où les enfants sont souvent les victimes.

(*) Le mot « délinquant » n'est pas adéquat pour qualifier la grande majorité des enfants et adolescents déferés aux tribunaux pour mineurs et qui sont plutôt indisciplinés, insouciants, turbulents, inadaptés, souvent plus victimes de parents médiocres que « mauvais sujets ». C'est pour cela que l'on ajoute parfois à ce terme un adjectif pour donner un nom plus réel à un garçon qui a récidivé ou commis un délit grave, en le nommant un « vrai délinquant ». Nous utilisons le mot « délinquant », qui est le terme technique, pour éviter une périphrase. Cependant, il faut se souvenir que ce terme n'implique pas dans notre esprit une discrimination morale.

La loi mosaïque du « talion » exigeant de punir l'offense par une peine afflictive du même genre, donc « oeil pour oeil, dent pour dent » a laissé des traces dans nos anciennes lois. En 1384, à Constance, un garçon eut la langue arrachée pour avoir blasphémé. On trouvait, paraît-il, encore dans les siècles passés des vieillards qui avaient des doigts coupés pour avoir volé étant enfants; ceux qui n'avaient qu'une main avaient volé à l'âge adulte.

C'était aussi un « traitement » — le traitement issu de la justice primitive au caractère religieux, mais aussi de la science du droit réservée aux pontifes, prêtres, vieillards vénérés, savants, philosophes, jurisconsultes, rois, empereurs — bref, aux esprits les plus éminents.

La responsabilité enfantine était considérée comme atténuée et se traduisait par une diminution des peines à l'égard des mineurs comme s'ils étaient des adultes en raccourci. Seuls les jeunes enfants (de moins de 7 ans, par ex.) n'étaient pas punissables, mais au dessus d'un certain âge, qui variait selon les pays, les enfants et les adolescents étaient passibles de châtiments mais moins rigoureux. Ils n'étaient cependant pas exempts de la peine capitale. Des exemples ne manquent pas dans les chroniques judiciaires.

En 1555, en Allemagne, un enfant de 11 ans a été décapité parce qu'il avait étranglé un camarade d'école en jouant avec lui. En 1629, en Angleterre, un enfant de 8 ans, qui avait incendié deux granges, est pendu, et en 1670, à Dresde, une empoisonneuse de 13 ans est condamnée à la mort par le glaive (3).

Lorsque la notion d'expiation se substitua à celle de vengeance, les enfants durent aussi expier leurs fautes par la souffrance afin qu'ils se repentent, d'où vient l'expression: mettre un enfant en pénitence.

On peut supposer que ce mode de traitement cruel et inhumain, comme aussi cette pénitence absurde et illogique, donnaient plus de satisfaction à la société outragée qu'ils ne constituaient des « moyens de redressement » pour les pécheurs ou de l'intimidation pour tous les autres. C'étaient, selon l'opinion de criminologues renommés, « les manifestations les plus brutales, après la guerre, de la nature humaine » (4).

Encore en 1847 à Amiens (France), la cour d'assises eut à juger 2 enfants âgés de 5 et 7 ans accusés d'incendie. Le procureur général demanda un emprisonnement sévère — 10 ans au moins. Mais le jury fit preuve de bon sens et prononça un verdict d'acquittement. Il fallut réveiller les deux enfants qui avaient dormi pendant les débats! (5).

Avant que les sciences humaines vinssent éclairer ce qui était dû à l'obscurité et à l'ignorance, la charité chrétienne chercha à soulager le sort de l'enfant « coupable », en le faisant traiter plus humainement. La situation des enfants emprisonnés suscitait partout les critiques des esprits ouverts et la sympathie des coeurs sensibles.

Parmi les précurseurs de la rééducation des jeunes dévoyés on peut trouver les noms des plus hautes personnalités comme d'humbles « gens de bonne volonté » et aussi une pléiade de « serviteurs de Dieu » et d'anonymes éducateurs. Les premiers Brephotrophia avaient, selon Lutz (6), une organisation remarquable et comportaient déjà des écoles de métiers, tel l'orphelinat Saint-Basile à Césarée (350) et Saint-Marguebodus à Angers (400). En 787, l'archevêque de Milan fonde un établissement spécial pour les enfants naturels... Charlemagne se constitue « protecteur de l'enfance » (Capitulaire de Mantoue), St-Louis, François 1er et bien d'autres affirment leur intérêt pour l'enfance malheureuse: les évêques italiens Dateo et Ansperto, le pape Innocent II ou Clément XI, des municipalités des villes importantes.

Mais, si l'on excepte ces initiatives isolées, le « traitement » des enfants délinquants, vagabonds, mendiants, etc., se faisait dans les prisons ou dans divers

établissements dénommés asiles, « hôpitaux pour enfants », hospices, orphelinats, etc., où ils étaient internés pour y « guérir leurs âmes et leurs corps ». Diverses orientations se succèdent (7) dont l'orientation agricole qui fait encore « améliorer la terre par l'homme et l'homme par la terre ». Différents systèmes de colonies situées à la campagne du type « correctionnel » remplacent peu à peu la répression et l'expiation par le travail et la discipline. Malgré l'influence de Rousseau, Pestalozzi et tant d'autres, les méthodes de traitement n'ont progressé que lentement et sporadiquement, ici et là, grâce au talent pédagogique, au dévouement de quelques « apôtres » ou à la générosité de philanthropes.

Au XIX^e siècle, le mouvement d'idées en faveur des enfants délinquants, qui deviennent de plus en plus nombreux, s'amplifie. La séparation des prisonniers mineurs et majeurs se réalise dans certains pénitenciers et aussi par la création de prisons juvéniles dont la Petite Roquette à Paris (1825) peut servir d'exemple. Mais l'innovation la plus importante, d'origine anglosaxonne, est la pratique de la probation (8). Cette méthode, qui permettait de confier les jeunes délinquants à des particuliers (« personnes dignes de confiance ») ou à des associations charitables au lieu de les interner, constituait le point de départ du développement des techniques inspirées par les sciences sociales, dont le *case-work*. *Les apports de la littérature et de la presse* à ce progrès ne doivent pas être omis. Des écrivains, comme Dickens en Angleterre, Hugo en France (qui proclamait qu'« une école qui s'ouvre, c'est une prison qui se ferme »), Gorki en Russie, Pestalozzi en Suisse, et bien d'autres, contribuèrent à sensibiliser l'opinion publique au sort des enfants mal traités.

Dans son « Coupable », François Coppée décrit les colonies pénitenciaires vers la fin du siècle passé. La poétesse polonaise Marie Konopnicka dépeint « un enfant au tribunal » que son juge fait conduire à l'école. Plus près de nous, Ellen Key en Suède prophétisait « Le siècle de l'enfant ». Les reportages de Louis Roubaux et d'Alexis Danan sur les « Bagnes d'enfants » révélèrent les lamentables conditions « des enfants de Caïn ». Makarenko en URSS écrivait son « Poème pédagogique » avec les jeunes délinquants, Cesbron, dans son célèbre roman « Chiens perdus sans collier » exposait les nouvelles méthodes du traitement des mineurs, tandis qu'Henri Joubrel présentait dans « La pierre au cou » le nouveau métier d'éducateur spécialisé.

Le cinéma vient joindre ses apports avec certains films de valeur au XX^e siècle. Si nous nous tournons vers l'*aspect scientifique*, il convient de mentionner parmi les précurseurs le nom de Beccaria. Dans son célèbre « Traité » il écrivait notamment : « Le moyen le plus efficace pour prévenir les crimes, mais en même temps le plus difficile, c'est de perfectionner l'éducation... la méthode incertaine de l'autorité devrait être abandonnée, puisqu'elle ne conduisait jamais qu'à une obéissance hypocrite et passagère » (9).

Les premières études effectuées par des particuliers s'efforçaient d'expliquer empiriquement les causes de l'augmentation de la délinquance juvénile qui, avec la révolution industrielle, devenait un problème social. Mais le tournant décisif a été pris avec l'apparition de la criminologie.

Les apports des sciences humaines dans le domaine de l'étiologie

Elles commencent avec l'oeuvre du médecin italien Lombroso et son école dite anthropologique ou positiviste. On connaît assez largement ses travaux concernant les examens des criminels adultes, mais moins nombreux sont ceux qui savent que Lombroso examina aussi des délinquants mineurs.

79 enfants de moins de 12 ans, placés dans des maisons de correction, furent l'objet de ses recherches. Ce groupe comprenait 40 voleurs, 27 « mauvais sujets » ou vagabonds

et 7 meurtriers. Il étudia parallèlement 160 écoliers non délinquants et suivit 29 d'entre eux jusqu'à l'âge adulte. Il tira de ses études la conclusion suivante: « Les anomalies morales, qui dans un adulte constitueraient la criminalité, se manifestent chez les enfants dans des proportions bien plus grandes et avec les mêmes signes, grâce surtout aux causes héréditaires... L'éducation n'y peut rien; elle leur donnera au plus un faux vernis, ce qui est la source de toutes nos illusions à ce propos... elle ne peut changer ceux qui sont nés avec des instincts pervers... Pour eux, l'asile criminel devient utile... car il étouffe dès leur naissance les effets de ces tendances auxquelles nous ne prêtons, malheureusement, notre attention que quand elles sont devenues irrémédiables... » (10).

Malgré le pessimisme fataliste de Lombroso, ses études ont eu l'utilité d'attirer l'attention sur la personne de l'enfant délinquant et sur la nécessité d'examiner son état.

Les conditions de vie misérables des enfants du prolétariat, qui s'ébattaient dans les rues des nouvelles villes industrielles, accrurent le nombre de jeunes délinquants dans des proportions inconnues jusque là. On découvrit alors l'*influence des conditions sociales et économiques* comme facteurs criminogènes. « La misère — écrivait Engels — n'a que deux issues: mourir de faim ou voler ». Le fait que la délinquance juvénile consistait essentiellement en délits contre les biens, était pour les socialistes scientifiques la preuve que l'injustice sociale engendrée par le régime capitaliste était la cause de ce phénomène. Par d'autres cheminements, Ferri en Italie, Lacassagne en France, incriminèrent aussi l'influence du *milieu social*. Ce milieu devient un « bouillon » qui fait mûrir les « microbes délictogènes ». Le comportement de l'enfant n'est qu'un « assemblage » de réflexes et d'habitudes de son entourage.

Cette prise de conscience de la responsabilité collective fut le point de départ de réformes législatives et juridictionnelles. La création de tribunaux pour mineurs et de leurs services auxiliaires permit de développer la recherche en matière de criminologie juvénile. L'un des premiers centres médico-psychopédagogiques attachés au tribunal pour mineurs fut l'« Institut psychopathique » à Chicago. Organisé en 1909 par le Dr. Healy, cette institution-pilote faisait à la fois du travail pratique du type de « Child Guidance Clinic » et des recherches scientifiques (11). L'équipe Healy-Bronner inaugura le système du « case-study », c.a.d. l'analyse des cas particuliers avec les méthodes médico-psychologiques et sociales. Ces études ont été ensuite complétées dans l'aspect évolutif par des catamnèses, les « follow-up-studies », études auxquelles un autre couple américain, Sheldon et Eleanor Glueck, donna une extension considérable (12).

L'importance des facteurs psychiques dans l'étiologie de la délinquance juvénile, mise en évidence par Healy et Bronner — qui en ont dégagé 138 — a fait dénommer ce genre de recherches: l'*école psychologique*. Reckless (13) a trouvé que les facteurs individuels étaient deux fois plus fréquents que les facteurs sociaux. Cette pluralité de facteurs étiologiques ne résolvait cependant pas le problème de la juveno-crimino-génèse. Voici ce qu'en dit le Prof. Baley: « Il y a là deux possibilités: ou bien il faut admettre dans chaque cas particulier, outre les facteurs en question, une présence d'un "X" supplémentaire, ou, mieux encore, certaines combinaisons spécifiques peuvent en effet être considérées comme pathogènes. Mais lesquelles? Cependant la théorie psychologique n'en donne pas une solution nette » (14).

Malgré les critiques qui lui ont été adressées, l'étude psychologique et psychiatrique du jeune délinquant joue un rôle sans cesse croissant. Cette jeune science a aussi ses pionniers européens: Burt en Angleterre (15), Heuyer en France (16), Batavia en Pologne (17), Tramer en Suisse (18), pour ne mentionner que ces quelques savants qui ouvrirent la voie à ce genre de recherches qui conjuguent la théorie et la pratique.

Lorsque Ernest Dupré présenta au congrès de neurologie à Turin (1912) sa théorie des « perversions instinctives », la conviction qu'il existe une corrélation entre la psychopathie et la délinquance s'impose. La conception de *personnalité psychopathique* ou perverse présente cette anomalie sous divers termes tels que: manie instinctive, folie lucide, moral insanity, dégénération, perversité, psychopathie, troubles caractériels. La catégorie des jeunes délinquants « caractériels » est « un chapitre très controversé qui a une mauvaise réputation » affirme le Dr. Henny, en ajoutant que « certains ont parlé de "poubelle nosographique" dans laquelle le médecin ou le travailleur social aurait tendance à classer tous les patients dont il ne saurait que faire, tant par l'aspect paradoxal de leur structure que, sur le plan thérapeutique, par leur résistance à toute tentative de réadaptation » (19).

Lorsque la tendance précédemment atomisante de la psychologie s'enrichit d'une nouvelle technique, la célèbre échelle métrique de l'intelligence du Binet-Simon (améliorée par Stern, puis par Terman), l'intérêt général se porte vers le « quotient intellectuel ». Rien d'étonnant que *l'intelligence*, considérée comme la manifestation la plus visible et le mieux mesurable, devienne dès lors un facteur étiologique primordial. Selon Goddard, un déficit intellectuel constaté chez un jeune délinquant suffisait à expliquer son délit (20). Pearce affirme que la corrélation entre la déficience mentale et la délinquance juvénile est évidente en Grande Bretagne (21). De même Burt, déjà cité, a trouvé que la proportion des troubles de l'intelligence chez les jeunes délinquants était cinq fois plus grande que celle des écoliers du même âge. Merill, en s'appuyant sur les données américaines, affirme que le Q.I. des délinquants mineurs est de 85 en moyenne, tandis que le niveau intellectuel de ceux qui sont placés en institution est encore plus bas (22). Les Glueck, qui dans leurs premiers travaux ont souligné la débilité mentale parmi les causes principales de la délinquance juvénile, ont changé d'opinion ensuite en écrivant: « Plus récemment il est apparu que ces déficiences intellectuelles ne sont pas parmi les traits les plus importants chez les délinquants (23). Sutherland, qui avait rassemblé les résultats des tests de 145 établissements aux EUA, avait trouvé qu'entre 1910-1914, 45% des jeunes délinquants internés avaient révélé des déficiences mentales. Les tests appliqués entre 1925-1928 ont montré que ce pourcentage ne dépasse pas 26%. La différence est due aux examinateurs et à leurs techniques plutôt qu'aux examinés (24). Cette diversité des données et des opinions, et surtout des résultats décevants de la « testologie » dans ce temps-là, ont motivé la suppression des tests en URSS d'abord et dans les démocraties populaires ensuite.

Parallèlement aux approches psychologiques, un autre mouvement scientifique prenait naissance à Vienne: *l'école psychanalytique*, fondée par Freud. Cette psychologie des profondeurs, comme on l'a dénommée, a été enrichie par Adler qui a mis en évidence le rôle perturbateur du sentiment d'infériorité (25). L'approche psychanalytique s'efforce d'expliquer la délinquance juvénile par les conflits de la première enfance et diverses déficiences du « sur-moi ». C'est surtout la fille du fondateur, Anna Freud — son père ne s'occupa guère des jeunes délinquants (26) — qui a étudié les déviations du développement psychique de l'enfant dans l'aspect psychanalytique (27). Aichhorn, à Vienne, a expérimenté la thérapie psychanalytique sur la « Verwahrloste Jugend » (28). Il a influencé d'autres praticiens, Redl et Winemann, par ex. aux EU, qui appliquèrent les mêmes méthodes aux « enfants qui haïssent » sans cependant aboutir aux résultats qu'ils en attendaient (29). Melanie Klein (30), estimant que la plupart des enfants difficiles devraient être psychanalysés pour expliquer leur comportement, a utilisé la psychanalyse aussi pour le traitement. De

même Kate Friedländer (31), pour laquelle la conduite délinquante résulte des perturbations des trois instances du psychisme: le « ça », le « moi » et le « sur-moi ». Le milieu ne serait qu'un facteur secondaire.

Pour Spitz (32) et Bowlby (33) ce sont les carences affectives maternelles subies dans la petite enfance qui sont à la genèse de la majorité des délits juvéniles, tandis qu'Andry, Bach et d'autres soulignent le rôle du père.

« La misère des nourrissons se traduira par la morne tristesse des relations sociales des adolescents » — écrit Spitz (34) en expliquant: « Privés de la nourriture affective à laquelle ils avaient droit, leur seule ressource est la violence. La seule voie qui leur reste ouverte est la destruction de l'ordre social dont ils sont victimes. Enfants privés d'amour ils deviendront des adultes pleins de haine ».

Andry, qui a examiné 80 délinquants mineurs (11-15 ans) et un groupe de contrôle, a trouvé que les jeunes délinquants ont une perception plus aigüe des défauts de leur père — plus que ceux de leur mère — et de la pauvreté des liens qui les attachent à lui (35). Bach et Bremer ont souligné que « le rejet de la part du père entraîne chez les enfants... des tendances antisociales et une propension à reporter sur toute autorité les pulsions agressives causées par les frustrations subies du fait du père » (36).

On connaît le retentissement de cette théorie. Les experts judiciaires qui s'en inspirent trouvent que le jeune délinquant est tantôt carencé dans la petite enfance, donc névrosé, tantôt un individu fruste, sans surmoi ou avec un surmoi très défectueux, sévère ou féroce.

Pour d'autres psychanalystes, le complexe d'Oedipe serait souvent à la base de crimes tels que le parricide ou le matricide. Un besoin d'auto-punition est aussi criminogène. Selon Lebovici, la commission du délit est « une relation affective consécutive à un conflit qui est la reviviscence de conflits infantiles punitifs » (37). Le vol serait un acte compensatoire dans beaucoup de cas. Lagache a critiqué ces théories (38) et nombreuses sont actuellement les objections formulées par des criminologues et par des psychanalystes mêmes.

Une réaction dans ce sens a été exprimée par Lebovici: insister trop sur l'importance des carences affectives et éducatives dans l'étiologie de l'inadaptation juvénile et attirer l'attention toujours sur ces facteurs, c'est « prendre une grande responsabilité dans la mesure où l'on risque de valoriser trop l'importance des soins positifs et des soins négatifs à donner aux enfants » (39). De même Henny qui rappelle: « que l'on a probablement trop valorisé des fixations qui pouvaient paraître, à travers les descriptions psycho-pathologiques, définitives et inamendables en raison d'un accident dans l'évolution de l'enfant ou de circonstances souvent occasionnelles de la vie familiale. L'expérience révèle qu'il n'en est rien et que la vie est heureusement là qui pousse l'enfant en avant, dans une maturation que rien n'arrive à freiner d'une façon définitive. Les reprises évolutives sont fréquentes et souvent spectaculaires. Le pronostic posé par le psychiatre, parfois très pessimiste, se révèle être largement abusif et il n'est pas de jour où nous ne constatons nos erreurs dans ce domaine » (40).

Une orientation originale issue de la psychanalyse et enrichie par l'approche anthropo-sociale est due à Erikson (41). Le comportement asocial des jeunes étant pour lui le résultat des crises du développement du sentiment d'identité, il faut alors étudier « les racines du moi dans l'organisation sociale », car il y a « des relations significatives entre les anxiétés de l'enfance et les bouleversements de la société » (p. 276). Cet auteur pense qu'il faut laisser trouver à chacun son propre style d'intégrité, restaurer la « Wanderschaft » qui a assuré au Moyen-Age une période d'essai et de liberté entre l'irresponsabilité de l'enfance et l'intégration dans la communauté des adultes. Il devient ainsi « un grand plaideur pour la jeunesse et la liberté » en demandant un « moratorium psychologique » pour les jeunes.

Tandis que les adeptes de l'école psychanalytique développent la criminologie juvénile à leur manière dans divers centres du type de Child Guidance, parallè-

lement des biologistes dirigent leurs recherches vers les *facteurs constitutionnels*. Telles sont par ex. des *études gémelliologiques* par comparaison de délinquants jumeaux tant univitellins que bivitellins qui ont été développées surtout en Allemagne par des généticiens tels que Lange, Kranz, Stumpf (42) et aux EUA par Rosanoff-Handy (43). 225 jumeaux ont été examinés et une corrélation avec la délinquance parallèle a été établie dans les proportions respectives: 69,9% (univitellins) et 33% (bivitellins), ce qui prouverait le rôle déterminant des facteurs héréditaires.

Quelques chercheurs ont attiré l'attention sur le rôle de certaines lésions corporelles et surtout des traumatismes crâniens. Une étude polonaise (44) a révélé que les enfants qui ont subi de ces traumatismes seraient le plus souvent les récidivistes « les plus spectaculièrement perturbés et qui ont commis les délits les plus graves tels que vols à main armée, actes de banditisme, vols impulsifs ». Bleuler et Kretschmer insistaient sur les diverses formes des anomalies de croissance, des déséquilibres hormonaux pendant la période de la puberté, des effets des maladies diverses qui peuvent engendrer un comportement délinquantiel.

Une anomalie génétique appelée « triplet chromosomique XYY » par les chercheurs (ou le « chromosome du crime » et même le « stigmata de Caïn » par les journalistes) a fait beaucoup parler d'elle dernièrement.

Le Prof. Graven a fait un bon résumé des recherches les plus récentes à ce sujet (des milliers de cas ont été étudiés en Australie et aux EUA en 1968) dans la Revue Int. de Criminologie et de Police Technique, No 4/1968 et 1/1969. Selon des observations faites dans les pénitenciers anglais et américains, « les détenus trouvés porteurs de l'anomalie chromosomique... présentaient une tendance précoce à la délinquance. Leur Q.I. ne dépassait pas 60 à 80 et ils ont en commun des caractères psychologiques tels que impulsivité, instabilité, affectivité très fruste, seuil de tolérance faible aux frustrations et aux contraintes, irritabilité, etc. ».

Ces délinquants « longilignes » (ils se distinguent par leur haute taille) se trouveraient dans le lot des récidivistes invétérés.

L'étude des éléments qui conditionnent la récidive a conduit certains chercheurs à élaborer des schèmes de *pronostic social*, en Allemagne (45), en Angleterre (46), aux Etats Unis et en Suisse notamment. Erwin Frey, par ex., a établi l'étalonnage de tests pronostics sur la base de 8 « mauvais points » et les coefficients suivants:

anomalies du caractère	50	milieu éducatif	15
hérédité	35	conscience et critique de soi-même	10
précocité et densité de la délinquance	35	mauvaises fréquentations et mauvais	
difficultés éducatives	30	emploi des loisirs	5
genre et gravité du délit	20		

Frey n'a constaté une corrélation entre les facteurs constitutionnels et héréditaires et la délinquance que dans un petit nombre de cas (44, dont la moitié est représentée par des psychopathes, sans définition exacte de cette anomalie) des délinquants mineurs dont il s'occupait personnellement en tant que procureur de la jeunesse (Jugendanwalt) à Bâle (47). Les fameuses « *tables de prédiction* » des Glueck sont en revanche le résultat d'une vaste enquête poursuivie pendant dix ans par une équipe de spécialistes hautement qualifiés qui examinèrent 1000 mineurs: 500 délinquants et 500 non-délinquants (48). Grâce à une analyse factorielle, les Glueck ont dégagé 15 facteurs divergents groupés en trois tables de « prédiction ». C'est surtout la table des facteurs familiaux (discipline du père, surveillance par la mère, affection du tandem père-mère, cohésion familiale) qui est à leur avis l'« instrument de pronostic » le plus important.

Malgré les réserves formulées à priori par de nombreux auteurs à l'égard de cette schématisation et de la détermination mécanique par des moyens mathématiques des probabilités de comportement délictueux, les tables de prédiction sont expérimentées dans divers centres scientifiques. Il faudra encore du temps pour en connaître les résultats. L'oeuvre des Glueck, qui est un modèle de recherche en criminologie juvénile, reste jusqu'ici inégalée par son envergure. Mais, portera-t-elle tous les fruits que ses auteurs ont annoncés? On peut se le demander.

La pénétration de diverses disciplines dans la recherche étiologique de la délinquance juvénile l'oriente toujours plus vers l'élaboration des *typologies de jeunes délinquants*. Les recherches des Glueck ont établi, entre autres, que « la majorité des délinquants mineurs persistants, sont morphologiquement du type mésomorphe, à prédominance musculaire et fortement charpentés ». Parmi les typologies d'orientation psychanalytique on peut citer celle de Redl qui, distinguant sept types différents, affirme que « la délinquance peut être aussi la conséquence de la croissance asymétrique de l'organisme. C'est ainsi que le potentiel sexuel de l'enfant peut dépasser ses moyens de contrôle » et qu'il y a des enfants névrosés et des enfants perturbés au niveau des impulsions; certains ont de telles charges d'agressivité qu'elles les conduisent presque nécessairement vers la délinquance » (49).

La richesse des facteurs criminogènes conduit les chercheurs à une *position éclectique*. L'un des plus éminents représentants de la criminologie moderne, Jean Pinatel, en analysant les différentes approches criminologiques a dégagé quelques traits de la personnalité qui seraient typiques pour la majorité des délinquants. Ce sont: l'égoïsme, la labilité, l'agressivité et l'indifférence affective. Ils forment dans leur interaction ce qu'il a dénommé le « noyau central de la personnalité criminelle » (50). Le milieu joue son rôle au « passage à l'acte » et les *facteurs sociaux vont de pair avec les facteurs individuels*. Même les médecins et les biologistes tiennent compte de plus en plus de l'importance du milieu. Tel par ex. le Dr. Heuyer qui actuellement accorde une importance prédominante aux facteurs familiaux et sociaux qui « agissent généralement en fonction de la réceptivité individuelle ». « Chaque enfant — dit-il — est toujours un mélange de caractères innés et acquis, et chaque délit dépend autant des conditions exogènes du milieu que des conditions endogènes du type psychologique de son auteur ». Le prof. Di Tullio, qui résume cette théorie, précise que quoique il ait toujours signalé « l'importance de la constitution comme facteur prédisposant à la criminalité... dans la dynamique du crime on retrouve en général de différentes conditions de nature biologique, bio-psychologique et sociale » (51).

Nous sommes ainsi amenés à examiner les *aspects sociaux* dans l'étiologie criminelle. Ils sont très nombreux et les plus divergents à la fois et n'ont en commun que la thèse générale selon laquelle la *délinquance juvénile est surtout le produit d'influences extérieures*. Tandis que l'approche bio-psychologique se limite à l'individu, l'approche sociologique est théoriquement illimitée. Si nous voulons résumer tout ce qui a été écrit au sujet des « causes » sociales il nous faudrait remplir quelques volumes. Parmi les facteurs présentés par les rapporteurs au II^e Congrès de criminologie, Van Bemmelen en dégagea quinze qui se rapportent à la vie familiale et sociale. D'autres chercheurs ont essayé de formuler une typologie en classant ces facteurs en catégories: économiques, écologiques, culturelles, etc., et en y distinguant encore des sous-groupes ainsi que des facteurs primaires, secondaires et tertiaires. D'autres encore, ont procédé à une évaluation critique des théories étiologiques pour aboutir à la constatation qu'on ne sait rien de sûr. « Tout peut être cause de n'importe

quoi » (Grünhut). On peut cependant noter que les partisans de la criminogénèse socio-culturelle (dont théories écologiques, « conflits de culture », désorganisation sociale, phénoménologie du gang, etc.) (52) retiennent le plus souvent les facteurs se rapportant au milieu familial, au voisinage, à la scolarité, à la formation professionnelle et aux loisirs.

La doctrine de Makarenko, en URSS, englobe ces facteurs en incriminant les mauvaises conditions éducatives. Il suffit, d'après ce pédagogue soviétique, de placer les jeunes délinquants dans des conditions de vie normales pour qu'ils redeviennent normaux (53). Une conclusion analogue a été formulée par le sociologue américain Milton B. Barron dans son étude significativement intitulée: « Les jeunes dans la société délinquante » (54). On peut y lire: « La prévention de la délinquance juvénile... impliquerait des modifications de notre structure sociale. Elle demanderait par exemple de mettre moins en évidence dans l'échelle des valeurs la compétition et l'accumulation de la richesse et de relever d'autres valeurs qui sont actuellement au bas de notre échelle ».

Nous sommes ainsi arrivés à évoquer un aspect philosophique et moral de l'étiologie qui prétend, comme le formule Taft (55), que la culture moderne est criminogène ou, comme l'affirme Rhodes, que « nous avons les délinquants que nous méritons » (56).

Les quelques exemples des apports des sciences humaines, que nous venons de présenter, montrent que la recherche étiologique est avant tout un problème de méthodologie. Elle devient souvent dépendante et assujettie à la discipline de la science à laquelle elle se rattache. De plus, dès qu'une méthode est adoptée par des particuliers, elle se « subjectivise » et le chercheur tend — consciemment ou inconsciemment — à y trouver ce qu'il attendait.

Pour pouvoir vraiment affirmer que la délinquance juvénile est due à tel ou tel facteur déterminé, il faudrait prouver que dans chaque cas où ce facteur (ou un ensemble de facteurs) est présent, correspond un délit donné. Cette preuve n'a pas été faite et elle ne le sera probablement jamais. La seule présence d'un ou des facteurs en question ne constitue aucunement une garantie contre la commission d'un délit par une personne donnée.

La valeur des facteurs change lorsqu'on passe de la théorie au cas concret. Le même facteur peut donner des effets différents dans des conditions de vie différentes, car la vie est dynamique, évolutive comme le sont aussi les facteurs et les humains. L'influence positive ou négative des facteurs dépendra de la situation qui conditionne la croissance de l'enfant ainsi que de son développement psycho-physique et socio-culturel.

Les apports des sciences humaines, malgré et grâce à l'« unilatéralisme » de certains, ont cependant éclairé les comportements humains déviants, comme les divers composants de la lumière traversant un prisme.

De plus en plus, la criminologie clinique tend à étudier l'être humain et son milieu sur une base interdisciplinaire pour pouvoir interpréter son comportement non seulement dans le dessein de le décrire mais dans le but de le traiter et de le prévenir (57). La psycho-pédagogie médico-sociale (Lafon), en pénétrant la criminologie, doit rechercher les types de traitement correspondant aux types de délinquants et rayonner aussi sur leur milieu tout en influençant le droit des mineurs et le droit pénal en général. Ce droit nouveau qui s'affirme dans les tribunaux de la jeunesse est entre autres un produit des apports des sciences sociales et médico-psychologiques, ce que nous allons présenter maintenant.

L'apport scientifique dans le domaine juridictionnel

Parallèlement au mouvement humanitaire et criminologique, un nouveau courant d'idées se manifesta aussi dans le domaine de la justice. La conception de la

minorité pénale, inspirée du droit romain, et selon laquelle les mineurs étaient considérés comme des adultes en miniature, se caractérisait par l'*atténuation des peines*.

Dès la Révolution française, la notion de *discernement* fut introduite dans les lois dites progressistes (Cf. du code criminel révolutionnaire de 1781). A l'époque, c'était en effet un progrès: à la tarification des peines, selon la nature du délit et l'âge de son auteur, s'ajoutait la prise en considération du développement intellectuel. Le manque de discernement permettait d'absoudre pénalement un certain nombre de mineurs; les autres, cependant, réputés « discernants », devaient subir les peines prévues pour les adultes, mais mitigées.

Tant que la réaction à la commission de l'acte illicite, quel qu'en soit l'auteur, était fondée sur la loi pénale, la seule préoccupation du juge était de bien tarifier la sanction prescrite pour le délit donné. Dès qu'on eut compris, grâce à la science, qu'un *enfant qui a commis une infraction n'a pas cessé d'être enfant*, et que comme tel il a le droit d'être éduqué, on a substitué l'éducation et la prévention à l'intimidation et à la répression.

Les réformes législatives concernant le droit des mineurs ont débuté à la fin du siècle passé. En Europe, c'est la Norvège qui, par les lois de 1887 et 1896, organisait des conseils de tutelle (Vaergersadet) pour statuer à la place des tribunaux et prendre des mesures de protection, de soins et d'éducation tant à l'égard des enfants délinquants que de ceux qui sont en danger moral. Les pays nordiques suivirent cet exemple tandis que la majorité des autres Etats des cinq continents adoptaient le système des tribunaux spéciaux.

La création des juridictions spécialisées pour mineurs (58) est une des réponses humaines au besoin de l'enfance et de l'adolescence nécessitant une protection judiciaire dans une société en mutation rapide et particulièrement dans un monde en voie de développement économique et industriel avec les bouleversements qui en résultent.

Le premier tribunal pour mineurs, la Juvenile Court, a été créé à Chicago en 1899. Il fut conçu et organisé comme un tribunal autonome ayant une compétence particulière (pénale et civile) et une procédure appropriée. Il était distinct des tribunaux ordinaires tant du point de vue organique que des locaux et du personnel. *La nouvelle loi qui remplaçait la répression par le traitement*, prévoyait un ensemble de mesures éducatives, protectrices et correctionnelles en faveur des enfants sans soutien, en danger moral ou délinquants et prescrivait la désignation d'un juge spécial et d'un ou de plusieurs agents de probation ainsi que la création de différents services dits auxiliaires.

L'institution de la Juvenile Court s'étendit et gagna bien vite les autres Etats de la Confédération américaine. Après avoir fait tache d'huile aux Etats Unis, l'idée franchit l'Atlantique et se propagea avec « une contagion fébrile et surprenante ». Durant les quelques années qui suivirent sa première réalisation, elle fit le tour du monde et les tribunaux pour mineurs se répandirent sous des formes diverses sur tous les continents (59). Actuellement, cette institution est encore en pleine évolution et il lui faudra bien de temps pour atteindre sa maturité. Les pays s'inspirent les uns des autres et la nouvelle justice se trouve toujours « en voie de développement ». On peut distinguer trois étapes de son évolution:

1° - Un type rudimentaire: il se caractérise par le manque de spécialisation. Dans le cadre judiciaire ordinaire certains juges sont désignés pour connaître, parfois à tour de rôle, des causes de mineurs. « La spécialisation est ici empirique — selon l'étude des Nations Unies (60) — elle est obtenue par le jeu de règles de compétence ratione personae. C'est le justiciable qui fait l'éducation du juge ».

2° - Un stade plus évolué consiste à créer une section spéciale dénommée tribunal pour enfants, tribunal pour mineurs, chambre de l'enfance, etc., qui fait partie du tribunal ordinaire mais qui a une certaine autonomie, des services auxiliaires.

3° - Un degré supérieur est une juridiction non seulement spéciale mais spécialisée, autonome, avec un personnel qualifié, ayant des services sociaux et médico-psycho-pédagogiques et une compétence élargie: pénale et tutélaire, éventuellement civile et administrative. Ce sont de ce type les cours familiales américaines, la cour de bien être social canadienne, les Family Courts japonaises. En Europe, on retrouve des tendances analogues en Belgique, en Espagne, en France, en Italie, aux Pays Bas, en Pologne, au Portugal, en Suisse, au Royaume Uni, pour ne mentionner que quelques pays.

Ainsi, la compétence de ces juridictions spéciales est *toujours plus étendue tant verticalement* (enfants, adolescents, jeunes adultes, adultes en leur qualité de parents/tuteurs ou coupables de délits commis envers les mineurs) que *horizontalement*: d'abord pénale, puis tutélaire, civile (en matière de la famille) et même administrative (Italie, Suisse: certains cantons). Le caractère polyvalent de la compétence permet aux magistrats d'intervenir chaque fois qu'un enfant-adolescent se trouve en danger moral ou a une conduite irrégulière ou encore que son développement psychique ou physique est troublé.

Ainsi, par exemple, la loi française désigne comme mesure « l'assistance éducative à l'égard de tout mineur de 21 ans dont la santé, la sécurité, la moralité, l'éducation sont compromises ». De même la loi belge de 1965 sur la protection de la jeunesse. Car, comme l'explique le juge bruxellois Slachmuylder: « L'ancienne distinction entre l'enfant "victime" et l'enfant "coupable" est abolie au profit d'un système tutélaire qui s'étend à tous les mineurs, en ce compris les mineurs délinquants. Autrefois, certains enfants en danger (appelés « prédélinquants » en raison de leur comportement) étaient assimilés aux enfants délinquants. Actuellement, ce sont les mineurs délinquants qui sont assimilés aux mineurs en danger ».

Ces transformations audacieuses et même révolutionnaires sont dues à l'influence des sciences sociales et psychologiques qui font de cette juridiction vraiment « spéciale » une sorte de « carrefour » où se retrouvent diverses catégories d'enfants et de parents nécessitant l'intervention du juge ainsi que des services sociaux et médico-pédagogiques. Ces services se rencontrent en elle ou devant elle où ils « viennent soutenir le point de vue de ce qu'on peut appeler dans un sens qui n'est pas habituel la défense sociale, mais sans que ce soit pour autant étouffée la voix de la famille et de l'enfant » (61).

Ainsi, cette juridiction pilote, conçue — selon l'expression du juge Comblen — comme « l'aile marchante du droit pénal » commence à transformer les autres lois existantes et change l'optique juridique dite classique, en devenant « l'aile marchante » du droit en général (Chazal). Le célèbre juriste américain Roscoe Pound a qualifié la création des tribunaux pour mineurs comme le plus grand progrès dans l'histoire judiciaire depuis la Grande Charte (Magna Carta) et le Ministre de la Justice français, M. Foyer, disait en 1966 au VII^e Congrès de l'AIMJ que « la formation du droit nouveau de l'enfance et de la jeunesse a eu dans les législations somnolentes des effets comparables à l'éruption d'un volcan ou à un tremblement de terre. Le droit pénal, le droit civil, la procédure civile comme la procédure pénale en ont été affectés ». Il ne s'agit plus de « rendre justice », mais de faire que cette *justice soit individualisée, protectrice, éducative et préventive*, bref - une *justice humaine*, conçue par l'homme pour l'homme comme une protection sociale dans le cadre judiciaire, dont le mouvement de la Défense Sociale se fait le porte-parole. Telle est la « philosophie » la plus évoluée de cette justice nouvelle dont la juridiction pour mineurs constitue un prototype.

En rendant hommage à ses créateurs, le Procureur Général près la Cour de Cassation à Paris, M. Aydalot, disait au VII^e Congrès des Magistrats de la jeunesse: « Vous avez donné à la vieille maison un éclairage nouveau et à la profession un visage rajeuni. Vous nous avez montré que le magistrat, homme de science et de réflexion, doit pouvoir être

également un homme d'action... Vous avez donné à notre profession une dimension trop souvent insoupçonnée, car vous ne vous bornez pas à trancher le conflit qui oppose deux plaideurs, mais vous organisez véritablement un état de fait et parfois même une situation juridique sur les ruines d'un état et d'une situation nées de la loi, mais qui n'avaient pas pu résister à l'épreuve des événements... Oui, vraiment, votre action a valeur d'exemple ».

Ainsi, la juridiction créée pour l'enfance devient une juridiction d'action et d'espérance pour l'humanité toute entière.

L'évolution continue...

Bien des conceptions se sont affrontées et bien des orientations se sont succédées concernant le rôle et le style de travail des magistrats de la jeunesse. Comme tous les débuts, celui de l'activité du juge nouveau a été difficile.

« En sa qualité de "nouveau-né" dans le monde judiciaire, il n'y était accueilli ni avec la tendresse ni avec la protection dues au cadet de ses frères aînés. Il n'a trouvé dans son berceau que quelques sourires amusés, un arrière-fond de scepticisme, parfois même un rien d'inquiétude » — disait encore M. Aydalot, en expliquant cet accueil réservé par la prédilection des juristes pour le passé et en ajoutant: « Vous étiez le demain, et les magistrats ont déjà bien de la peine à vivre la journée d'aujourd'hui. Vous arriviez sans précédents, et les juridictions ont à l'égard des situations nouvelles la même défiance que les portiers d'hôtel lorsque se présente devant eux un voyageur sans bagages ».

Ainsi, ce juge inconnu qui n'avait aucune préparation à la nouvelle tâche et était en plus conditionné par la procédure destinée aux adultes, donc inadéquate pour les mineurs, était appelé à affronter les problèmes nouveaux.

Le principe du « parens patriae », suivant lequel l'Etat représenté par le magistrat remplace les parents absents ou indignes, inspirait les premiers juges. En se substituant au tandem père et mère, ils considéraient qu'ils devaient restaurer l'autorité parentale et l'atmosphère familiale au tribunal.

L'un des premiers juges américains, Julian Mack, reflétait bien ce *paternalisme* lorsqu'il écrivait: « Assis à sa table, l'enfant à côté de lui, en sorte qu'il peut, à l'occasion, mettre son bras autour de son épaule et l'attirer vers lui, ce juge, sans rien perdre de sa dignité de magistrat, gagnera immensément en efficacité de son oeuvre » (62).

La procédure informelle, extrêmement souple, permettait de régler la majorité des affaires des mineurs de manière officieuse, c. à d. extra-légale. C'est ainsi que le *droit prétorien remplaça le légalisme*, tout en étant aussi la source de l'*arbitraire*.

Peu à peu « le scientifique envahit le judiciaire » venant du domaine de la psychologie, de la médecine et des autres sciences de l'homme. « Dans aucun autre domaine du pouvoir judiciaire l'influence de la science n'est aussi prononcée que dans les juridictions des mineurs », déclarait le juge vénézuélien Lasser, au V^e Congrès de l'AIMJ, en affirmant que « la vision qu'a le magistrat des problèmes de l'enfant s'enrichit et s'amplifie lorsqu'il peut les considérer dans diverses perspectives. Les possibilités d'erreur diminuent et la fonction de juger devient plus précise ».

Cette *pénétration des sciences humaines* dans le domaine du droit des mineurs donne un nouveau caractère à la fonction judiciaire. Au fur et à mesure que l'art de juger s'appuie sur les données scientifiques, « la justice se technifie ». Cet apport des sciences de l'homme, accueilli d'abord avec enthousiasme en raison des nouveaux horizons qu'il ouvrait, se révéla ensuite aussi discutable que le paternalisme d'antan. On a en effet observé que certains magistrats en collaborant avec divers experts et emportés par leur zèle « scientifique » étaient

prêts à abandonner tous les attributs du pouvoir judiciaire et à contester même la raison d'être de la justice.

On pouvait croire qu'ils étaient sur le point d'échanger la robe du magistrat contre la blouse blanche du pédo-psychiatre et la vocation du juge contre celle d'éducateur psycho-social amateur. Le juge Chazal, en parlant de cette situation au Congrès de Naples en 1962, a évoqué le temps où on voulait mettre toutes les décisions judiciaires entre les mains des techniciens et un autre où « certains esprits rêvaient de faire du juge des enfants une sorte de supertechnicien, plus fort en psychologie qu'un psychologue, en sociologie qu'un sociologue, en pédagogie qu'un pédagogue et imposant sa loi à tous ». Et c'est ainsi que le Dr. Herbert H. Lou exprimait l'espoir que « un jour viendrait où nous pourrions nous passer de la procédure judiciaire et mettre en oeuvre seulement les techniques médicales, psychologiques, psychanalytiques et sociales pour traiter les enfants prévenus qui le sont parce que difficiles » (62).

Ainsi, ce jeune juge, issu d'une justice répressive (ou tutélaire), imbu de sa mission de « *parens patriae* », influencé par les méthodes et techniques du travail social (le *case-work* notamment) et par diverses doctrines (telles que le freudisme ou la Défense Sociale), ce juge distinguait mal sa fonction.

Certains magistrats se félicitaient que le juge des enfants soit « sorti de sa tour d'ivoire et se mêle à ses compatriotes et qu'il soit devenu "homme d'action" » (Cotxet de Andreis). D'autres affirmaient que le juge des enfants devait être « jeune de caractère, dévoué, large d'idées et profondément humain et se sentir plus attiré par le réalisme de la vie que par la technique judiciaire » (63). Selon le juge américain Rose, la société attend beaucoup plus du juge des mineurs que la loi lui prescrit. Elle attend notamment de son mandataire qu'il soit un guide pour les enfants et les parents, qu'il s'associe à la détermination des besoins de la communauté et qu'il se place parmi les dirigeants de cette communauté » (64).

D'autres juristes pensent qu'il faut limiter l'action du juge des mineurs aux litiges portés devant le tribunal. « Faire respecter la loi, arbitrer les conflits, c'est son rôle, le reste ne le regarde pas » disent-ils. « Il n'a pas le droit d'intégrer dans l'orbite de ses fonctions ce qui ne concerne pas vraiment sa mission même » — affirme le Conseiller Chazal, en ajoutant que le juge des enfants « a déjà suffisamment à faire en tranchant tous ces conflits portés devant lui » (65). « Tant qu'il n'y a pas conflit — affirme aussi le Procureur Aydalot déjà cité — l'enfant en danger a des protecteurs naturels qui sont ses parents et à qui il appartient de le protéger... En deça du conflit nous sommes dans le domaine de la prévention sociale. Au delà seulement nous entrons dans le champ de la prévention judiciaire ».

La distinction entre les deux types de prévention est de toute importance. En effet, la protection et l'éducation sociales relèvent du champ d'activité des travailleurs sociaux et d'autres techniciens (médecins, psychologues, pédagogues) qui ne devraient recourir à l'intervention judiciaire que lorsqu'il y a un contentieux à régler. *Le tribunal de la jeunesse (et de la famille) ne peut et ne doit pas se transformer en service social ou en office médico-psycho-pédagogique, ni perdre de vue son caractère judiciaire.* Il y a une tendance générale à rendre aux tribunaux leur rôle d'arbitre et à créer des services de prévention sociale, le juge ne devant intervenir que lorsque leurs moyens ont échoué. Mais, d'autre part, qu'il soit magistrat de la jeunesse ou de la famille, « *Magistrate of Juvenile Court* », « *Judge of Family Court* », « *Jugendrichter* », « *Giudice del tribunale per i minorenni* », *ce magistrat spécial et spécialisé ne peut et ne doit être ni un simple arbitre ni un juge entièrement engagé; son rôle ne consiste plus seulement à trancher un conflit mais à prendre en charge l'aménagement des relations familiales et socio-éducatives* (66).

Après le tâtonnement des pionniers et de leurs successeurs, les attitudes: « charitable », « paternaliste », « super-technicien », « autoritaire » tendent à évoluer vers une synthèse qui est encore « *in statu nascendi* ». En tout cas, le juge des mineurs d'aujourd'hui, tel qu'il émerge de cette évolution et des

discussions, et tel que nous le voyons au travail à notre époque, (car aucune institution humaine n'est jamais définitive) est un *magistrat de la jeunesse* (*) *et de la famille, spécialisé* dans les causes qu'il connaît et *qui travaille en équipe avec d'autres spécialistes* (médecin, pédagogue, psychologue, éducateur, travailleur social). Ce magistrat, appelé à protéger l'enfance et la famille, *exerce des fonctions juridiques mais aussi socio-éducatives et préventives dans un cadre judiciaire sous l'autorité de la Justice. Il utilise des sciences humaines directement* et personnellement dans ses interventions judiciaires (audition, entretien, interrogatoire, jugement) *ou indirectement* en faisant agir des techniciens de diverses disciplines. Le juge conçoit le plan d'action dans ses lignes générales, il serait le « stratège » — tous les autres techniciens, ses collaborateurs, complètent ce plan en détail et l'exécutent, ils seraient les « tacticiens » — selon le rapporteur général du V^e Congrès (1958). Une des conclusions de ce Congrès définit le rôle du juge comme il suit: « Il appartient au magistrat de la jeunesse d'établir, de diriger et de modifier éventuellement le plan de traitement individuel des mineurs qui sont soumis à sa juridiction ».

Le juge français Cotxet de Andreis disait: « De son poste, le juge des enfants contemple les deux versants: celui du droit, qui n'est pas accessible au scientifique, et celui de la science dont il respire l'atmosphère ».

L'unité d'action réalisée par l'équipe des spécialistes sous les auspices du magistrat judiciaire constitue une solide garantie contre l'arbitraire, diminue les possibilités d'erreur et assure le respect des droits de l'individu, de la famille et de la société. Ces constatations sont autant d'arguments en faveur du système des tribunaux spéciaux par opposition au système des comités/commissions socio-administratifs.

La procédure s'élabore et se différencie

Pour bien évaluer le caractère socio-éducatif de la procédure appliquée aux mineurs dans le cadre judiciaire, il faut la suivre plus en détails dans ses trois phases: l'instruction, le jugement, l'exécution, selon la terminologie officielle, c. à d.: l'information, la décision et le traitement. Dans la plupart des pays, la loi confie au juge des mineurs l'ensemble de la procédure dans ces trois stades. Cette *compétence globale* symbolise bien cette justice individualisée, personnaliste et éducative. *L'enfant et son problème est un tout* qui ne peut et ne doit pas être partagé ni divisé entre diverses autorités (police, procureur, juge d'instruction, juge de jugement, jury, juge d'application des peines) au cours des différentes phases de la procédure. D'autre part, *les juges qui ne font connaissance de leurs justiciables que sous l'éclairage artificiel de l'audience de jugement, les connaissent mal* ou pas du tout. Enfin, *toutes les opérations procédurales* peuvent être faites mieux et plus vite si elles sont dirigées par le même juge. *On évite la lenteur et la lourdeur de la procédure* qui seraient très nocives à l'égard d'enfants et adolescents qui vivent dans le présent et pour lesquels hier est le passé.

Dès le début de son intervention, le juge pense au sort du mineur qui est devant lui et se pose diverses questions. Mais, ce ne seront pas les seules questions rituelles: qui - quand - où - comment, qui absorberont le plus l'attention et le temps du magistrat de la jeunesse, mais aussi un profond « pourquoi ». Pourquoi fait-il ça? Qui est-il? Comment vit-il? Qui sont ses parents? Que faut-il faire pour les aider? « De tout ceci il ressort donc que le but de la protection judi-

(*) En 1958, l'Association Internationale des Juges des Enfants a changé son nom contre celui d'Association Internationale des Magistrats de la Jeunesse (AI MJ).

ciaire n'est pas de retirer un enfant ou un jeune de son milieu, mais que la préoccupation constante des magistrats sera: Comment allons-nous permettre à ce jeune de rester dans sa famille, sans que ce séjour ait des suites préjudiciables pour lui? » (67).

Bien sûr, si l'enfant est accusé d'avoir volé une bicyclette, le juge doit savoir s'il l'a prise, et si oui, — quand, comment, avec qui, etc. Mais, comme le disait le juge Lindsay, « Ce qui importe à la société, ce n'est pas tellement le sort de la bicyclette, c'est le sort de l'enfant ». Et si au cours de l'enquête, l'observation de certaines formes et règles de la procédure est indispensable — il faut établir l'illégalité des faits, réunir des preuves, éviter l'erreur et l'arbitraire, qualifier juridiquement le fait accompli — cependant la tâche du juge des mineurs consiste à concilier divers aspects: l'aspect juridique d'un côté, l'aspect psycho-social, l'aspect éducatif et d'autres de l'autre côté.

Selon les cas, le juge va commencer à creuser la cause en chargeant d'abord un travailleur social de faire une *enquête sociale*. De plus en plus ce travail important peut être confié aux assistants sociaux spécialisés et parfois même groupés en un « Service social de justice » (68). En se rendant dans les milieux de vie du mineur, l'assistant social « en rapporte l'odeur sociale et psychologique » (selon l'expression du juge Allaer). En recueillant des informations auprès des parents, à l'école, au lieu de travail du mineur, etc., les assistants sociaux deviennent des « antennes » ou des « récepteurs » de cette entreprise de sauvetage qu'est le tribunal de la jeunesse. Il arrive que l'enquête sociale décèle de graves carences éducatives ou affectives ou encore une mauvaise volonté du tandem père et mère et il faut alors placer l'enfant hors de la famille, ce que le juge doit faire sans tarder. Et si cet enfant a des frères et soeurs, le juge agira de la même manière ou provoquera une intervention analogue — s'il n'est pas autorisé par la loi à agir lui-même, il fait agir l'autorité tutélaire. On voit par là l'importance qu'il y a à charger le juge des mineurs de l'information. En général, on peut dire que quelle que soit la loi et son application pratique, la *connaissance de l'enfant et de ses conditions de vie doit être un « pilier de l'enquête »*. Agir autrement signifierait agir « sans discernement », ce qui peut être tolérable et pardonnable chez un mineur, mais pas chez son juge. Les sciences de l'homme et leurs techniques se perfectionnent constamment et elles ne peuvent être ignorées ou écartées lorsqu'il faut décider du sort et de l'avenir de l'enfant qui est « candidat à l'humanité » et qui devient « citoyen de demain et comme tel il participera à la défense sociale, ou, s'il devient antisocial, il restera l'objet de la défense sociale » (Caloyanni). Ainsi, le juge, qui en a la pleine responsabilité et qui veut suivre le chemin du progrès, est amené à *faire appel à divers spécialistes*. « En fait — comme le souligne M. Michard — le magistrat s'adresse de moins en moins à des techniciens considérés individuellement, de plus en plus à une équipe » (69). L'étude du mineur et de son milieu, plus ou moins sommaire dans les tribunaux qui ne disposent pas de services qualifiés, peut devenir une véritable *recherche médico-psychopédagogique, sociale ou criminologique*, là, où les études de ce genre sont déjà plus avancées. Dans certains cas, il faut procéder à une *observation prolongée, ambulatoire ou clinique* qui, si elle se déroule dans une institution équipée pour cela, devient un début de traitement. Les autres *mesures dites provisoires* (surveillance, placement, détention) doivent viser aussi au *but éducatif*. Autrement dit, le traitement du jeune prévenu commence dès que la police l'amène au juge.

Il convient de mentionner ici que *l'action de la police évolue aussi*. En collaboration avec les juges des mineurs, cette action devient socio-éducative et préventive. Influencée, elle aussi, par les sciences humaines, la police se préoccupe

même de la recherche scientifique sur la délinquance juvénile, comme le prouvent les publications de l'Interpol. La création de brigades de mineurs et d'assistantes sociales de police accentue l'action socio-préventive de ce corps. L'Organisation internationale de police criminelle « recherche hardiment des solutions nouvelles pour l'avenir » (70).

Il ne nous est pas possible de décrire ici tous les modes d'approche employés actuellement par les juridictions les plus avancées. Ils sont d'ailleurs l'objet d'une littérature abondante. Nous voulions cependant mentionner qu'il arrive que pendant cette phase préparatoire (dénommée « l'enquête » ou l'« instruction »), le juge n'ait pas ouvert une seule fois son code, dont il connaît d'ailleurs par cœur les articles les plus utilisés, mais il a lu et relu les rapports de la police, de l'assistant social, d'autres spécialistes avec lesquels il a souvent encore discuté personnellement, comme il a causé avec le mineur et ses parents. Il est ainsi en pleine connaissance de la cause, ce qui est dû à ce « décloisonnement de la procédure » (Martaguet) à un seul maître.

Mais, pour que le juge soit vraiment le « maître de la procédure », il faut qu'il soit bien préparé à sa tâche. *Le problème de la formation* se pose dès lors et il ne peut être omis si l'on parle des apports des sciences humaines. La nécessité de la formation spéciale de magistrats de la jeunesse s'impose et se précise déjà dans cette phase préliminaire où divers moyens relevant des sciences sociales et médico-psychologiques doivent être mis en oeuvre. Malgré les efforts déployés dans ce domaine, la question de la formation des juges n'est pas encore solutionnée (71). Certains progrès sont cependant constatables. Les méthodes de l'entretien, par exemple, si elles ne sont pas « scientifiques » sont toujours plus adaptées aux besoins.

Il faut reconnaître loyalement que si bien des juges savent *parler aux enfants*, peu nombreux sont ceux qui savent *parler avec les enfants* et encore plus rares sont ceux qui savent *faire parler les enfants* et susciter le besoin de « tout dire », de se confier. Car les enfants encore plus que les adultes « ne savent pas ce qu'ils savent » (Gross).

Ainsi, l'interrogatoire s'est transformé en audition, « de l'audition naît l'entretien et de l'entretien le dialogue » (Fédou). Et « le dialogue atténue l'anxiété et l'agressivité de ce justiciable et lui offre le moyen de communiquer avec un monde qu'il n'a que trop tendance à percevoir comme hostile » — nous rappelle le juge Slachmuylder, selon lequel « le dialogue est un rapport social positif, c. à d. l'apprentissage d'une valeur » (72). Le contact: juge-justiciable qui s'établit dans les tribunaux pour mineurs peut vraiment servir de modèle pour d'autres juges-instructeurs.

Un autre exemple dû à l'influence de la psychologie: *les citations*. Au lieu de formules imprimées qui suscitent des réactions diverses, certains juges des mineurs convoquent les enfants et leurs parents par une lettre sous enveloppe neutre, discrètement mais adroitement rédigée. Le but en est: préparer l'entretien en créant une ambiance psychologiquement propice. Les intéressés comprennent presque toujours fort bien qu'il s'agit d'un ordre. Ils apprécient cette discrétion et se rendent compte que tout cela se fait dans l'intérêt éducatif du mineur et pour ne pas compromettre son avenir.

En voici un exemple publié par le juge français Synvet:

A. M.

J'ai l'honneur de vous faire connaître que j'instruis une affaire concernant... qui a commis le... J'ai chargé une assistante sociale de prendre contact avec vous, pour vous demander des renseignements sur votre enfant; je vous prie de lui réserver un bon accueil.

Je vous informe que vous pouvez, si vous l'estimez utile, choisir vous-même un avocat ou me demander de lui en faire désigner un d'office.

Avant de prendre une décision au sujet de... je vous convoquerai à mon Cabinet. Je vous prie de m'accuser réception par retour du courrier du présent avertissement, en mentionnant le ou les jours de la semaine où votre enfant et vous-même êtes libres. Je vous signale que vous pouvez le faire sans mettre de timbre sur l'enveloppe... Etant donné que vous êtes responsable des dommages causés par votre enfant, je crois vous conseiller de rechercher, si possible, un règlement à l'amiable avec...

Les réponses sont toujours parvenues régulièrement au juge — affirme l'auteur (73).

L'aménagement des locaux, de la salle d'attente (pourvue de brochures éducatives); l'ameublement du cabinet du juge, tout cela n'est pas négligé par les magistrats soucieux d'accomplir leur mission.

Parvenu au terme de l'information, le juge peut « clore l'enquête » par une ordonnance de « non-lieu », prendre une mesure comme juge unique ou soumettre l'affaire au collège. Cela nous amène à une autre phase de la procédure: *la décision*.

Il est évident que la mission du juge est de juger. Mais « tandis que les juges traditionnels » — comme l'affirme le président Fédou — « estiment juger d'autant mieux qu'ils connaissent moins » (d'où la séparation de l'instruction et du jugement) « le juge des enfants estime qu'il juge d'autant mieux qu'il connaît mieux » (74).

Constater le dol et fixer la peine sont des opérations plus simples que celles qui impliquent la rééducation ou l'adaptation, voire la resocialisation d'un être humain. Et pour cela le juge des mineurs, tout en appréciant l'apport de ses collaborateurs, ne peut pas « entériner purement et simplement les conclusions d'experts qu'il a désignés, car il sait les incertitudes des sciences de de l'homme... et des experts » nous rappelle le juge Allaer (75). D'autre part, le juge est obligé de prendre en considération le problème du mineur non comme un individu isolé ou situé seulement dans son milieu, mais comme un membre de la communauté et par rapport à la société toute entière et à son système de valeurs. La personne de la victime ne peut pas être omise non plus. Ainsi, la protection du mineur, qui ne cesse d'être une des premières préoccupations du juge, ne recouvre pas toujours la protection de la communauté ou la protection de certains membres particuliers (lésés, par exemple) ou encore la protection sociale au sens large (76). En outre, il existe des problèmes qui dépassent le « psycho-social » dans une mesure insoupçonnée et la science du droit s'impose, les impératifs juridiques étant nécessaires.

L'audience de tribunal est et a toujours été considérée comme la phase principale de l'intervention judiciaire. Mais il apparut tout de suite aux créateurs des tribunaux pour mineurs que le rituel solennel des débats qui se déroulent dans une salle austère et dans un décor un peu théâtral, ne convenait pas aux juridictions destinées aux enfants et adolescents. *Il fallait adapter la procédure de jugement à sa finalité* et donner un autre caractère à l'audience pour qu'elle ne soit pas une « froide cérémonie ». C'est ainsi que les magistrats de la jeunesse ont créé un autre genre de séance de justice, *l'audience de cabinet*.

Déjà le premier juge des enfants belge Wets affirmait que « on convainc mieux, on gagne mieux les cœurs dans l'isolement d'un modeste cabinet ». C'est en effet à *l'audience de cabinet que l'aspect éducatif et social de l'intervention judiciaire se manifeste le mieux*. La démarche du juge s'apparente à celle du médecin cherchant à poser le diagnostic et à établir le pronostic pour ordonner le traitement. Certains parlent déjà de la « thérapie judiciaire ». Mais, comme l'explique bien F. Fédou: « Il s'agit d'une *action spécifique* qui n'est pas celle du médecin, ni celle du psychologue, ni celle de l'éducateur; c'est l'action même du juge... Elle ne repose pas sur une perspective de thérapeutique ou de traitement individuel, ni sur un souci légitime d'influence personnelle du

juge sur l'enfant, voire les parents... Le fondement de l'action personnelle du juge est directement rattaché à son *entreprise statutaire de rééquilibrage familial et de réinsertion sociale*. Il s'agit pour le juge de conduire enfant et parents à une *prise de conscience de leurs responsabilités* parfois insoupçonnées, de leur rôle irremplaçable, d'amener le jeune à se situer personnellement par rapport à lui-même, à ses parents, à ses relations, au contexte social » (77). La préférence des juges des enfants pour l'audience de cabinet ne signifie pas qu'ils tendent à supprimer l'*audience de tribunal*. Cette dernière est réservée aux *affaires les plus graves*: crimes, délits commis en groupe organisé, cas de multirécidivistes, etc. Mais, même à l'audience de tribunal qui siège en collège, la publicité des débats est remplacée par le *huis-clos*, c. à d. *hors la présence du public et de la presse*. Beaucoup de juges des mineurs préfèrent siéger en dehors du palais de justice et ne pas porter la robe ni se placer sur un podium ou adopter des attitudes solennelles et hautaines. Ils s'efforcent en revanche, de donner à l'*audience un style compréhensible à chacun*, le langage juridique n'étant pas utilisé. La procédure, dépourvue de formalisme, permet de donner aux audiences un déroulement psychologiquement plus favorable.

Contrairement à la procédure traditionnelle, selon laquelle « les vivants sont gouvernés par les morts » — comme l'affirme M. Versele en soulignant combien encore les codes pénaux « font persister de fausses valeurs admises par les générations passées » (78) — l'audience au tribunal pour mineurs est destinée moins à sanctionner le passé qu'à préparer l'avenir du jeune en le faisant participer aux débats. Ce but est plus facile à atteindre si le juge et le justiciable ne sont pas séparés par la distance et par la hauteur ni gênés par le public qui « fait avorter le dialogue ».

L'audience doit être ce moment de la vie d'un garçon ou d'une fille où on lui dit, avec le juge Moëne: « ce qui nous intéresse, c'est ce que tu vas faire désormais... Rien n'est donc perdu et tu gardes toutes tes chances... Toujours l'enfant doit quitter le tribunal avec l'espoir au cœur et la conviction qu'il peut et doit faire mieux » (79).

On peut nous objecter avec raison que si ces considérations psycho-pédagogiques se justifient à l'égard d'enfants et de jeunes adolescents, elles ne s'appliquent pas aux plus grands. Il est évident que pour les jeunes gens « endurcis », un style plus sévère est mieux approprié et qu'il peut même représenter un choc salutaire. Donc, là aussi, il faut de la souplesse.

Ainsi, « une ambiance sacralisée et ritualisée » étant supprimée, le mineur est entendu non seulement sur la commission du délit, mais aussi sur ses conditions de vie, sa scolarité ou sa formation professionnelle, ses loisirs, ses plans, etc. Lorsque le *procureur* intervient, ce qui est rare dans la majorité des pays, inexistant dans d'autres, il vaut mieux que le prévenu soit assisté d'un avocat, choisi ou d'office. Il est d'usage cependant que pendant la plaidoirie de l'avocat le mineur soit éloigné. Certains juges se félicitent « qu'il n'y a ni procureur qui accuse, ni avocat qui défend, car personne n'accuse le mineur et personne ne veut le condamner ni lui infliger une peine à titre de répression » comme dit le juge espagnol Ybarra y Berge. Le *tribunal choisit la mesure* qui lui paraît la *plus appropriée* à l'espèce et il *cherche à la faire accepter par le mineur et ses parents*. Le plan de l'application de la mesure décidée peut être ainsi dressé avec les parents et leur enfant, car *leur collaboration au traitement est la meilleure garantie de succès*.

Cette humanisation des débats ayant comme résultat une sentence « concertée » (Martaguet) est due à l'orientation psycho-sociale du magistrat de la jeunesse. En tant que juge-« éducateur », c. à d. appelé à appliquer des mesures éducatives, il est devenu le créateur d'une procédure prétorienne qui *fait participer le justiciable à l'élaboration du jugement* prononcé *non contre lui mais à son égard*. Autrement dit, qui fait collaborer le « condamné » à sa « condamnation ».

Si paradoxal soit-il, ce procédé constitue une nouvelle conception de la justice

psycho-sociale. Elle est rendue de façon à éveiller chez le mineur le sens de sa responsabilité et à *lui faire accepter un changement de son comportement*. « Ainsi, le condamné qui change sa manière de vivre et qui accepte de réaliser une action de valeur sociale, crée un *bonum* qui seul peut balancer le *malum* qu'il avait causé » écrivait le prof. Schultz, en ajoutant: « Et il se peut que ce soit dans cette direction qu'il faille chercher une voie pour rendre encore plus humain et plus efficace ce terrible instrument de la contrainte sociale qu'est le droit pénal » (80).

Nous sommes ainsi arrivés à constater que la *décision du juge des mineurs*, tout en étant l'aboutissement d'interventions multidisciplinaires, constitue un *acte de l'autorité judiciaire, accepté par le justiciable et symbolisant la Justice de demain*. *Cet acte, ordonnant le traitement d'un mineur délinquant, est en tout temps modifiable*. Il ne constitue donc pas une « *res judicata* », une chose jugée une fois pour toutes, mais une chose mobile, qui peut et doit être adaptée à l'évolution du cas. Cette caractéristique nous paraît établir de manière particulièrement probante l'influence des sciences humaines dans le domaine de la Justice, où le principe de la chose jugée, hérité du droit romain, constituait, et constitue encore, une règle quasi absolue.

Le jugement du magistrat de la jeunesse n'est donc pas l'épilogue de la mission du juge, *mais un prologue*, un point de *départ du traitement* ordonné et *dans lequel le juge est engagé*, comme l'est le médecin dans la cure de son patient. Dans la majorité des pays, *les juges des mineurs sont chargés de superviser le traitement, de le modifier et d'y mettre fin*. C'est pour cela que la *durée de la mesure éducative est indéterminée, adaptée à l'évolution du cas*. Ces caractéristiques qui distinguent le droit des mineurs du droit traditionnel, font du juge un juge engagé qui reste actif dès le début du procès jusqu'à la fin du traitement.

Mais quel est enfin ce traitement dont nous parlons tout le temps? Nous allons nous en occuper maintenant.

Les mesures à prendre.

Les lois modernes prévoient toute une gamme de mesures éducatives, rééducatives, correctionnelles ou disciplinaires, dont certaines font abstraction de toute peine à l'égard des mineurs (la loi belge de 1912, le code pénal polonais de 1932, la loi portugaise de 1962, etc). D'autres réservent les peines aux mineurs plus âgés (au dessus de 15-16 ans par exemple) et surtout s'ils sont réfractaires aux mesures éducatives. D'autres encore prévoient des peines sui generis — les peines juvéniles — et parfois les combinent avec les mesures éducatives. La peine privative de liberté conçue comme la vraie condamnation pénale à l'égard des mineurs devient de plus en plus rare et son exécution s'exerce dans des conditions qui s'améliorent, quoique très lentement. Les progrès dans ce domaine sont loin d'être satisfaisants. Heureusement que le nombre des condamnations répressives est très faible, il s'agit presque toujours de mineurs envers lesquels les mesures éducatives ont échoué, ou d'infractions routières.

Pour donner une vue globale de toutes les possibilités que les lois donnent actuellement aux tribunaux pour mineurs, nous les avons réparties en cinq groupes (présentés dans l'annexe). Une telle subdivision est sans doute artificielle et arbitraire. Elle ne correspond pas non plus aux divers systèmes législatifs ni à leurs motivations. Cette vue d'ensemble (et le « bilan » est loin d'être exhaustif) peut donner au profane l'impression que la gamme variée des moyens constitue un assortiment de « remèdes pour tous les maux ».

En effet: « Lorsque un magistrat a siégé dans un tribunal pour mineurs — écrit M. Slachmuylder — il est tout d'abord frappé du contraste entre, d'une part, la richesse des procédés d'investigation et d'observation (ainsi que du traitement) dont il a disposé au tribunal de la jeunesse et, d'autre part, l'imperfection et la pauvreté des moyens mis en oeuvre dans les procédures pour adultes » (81).

Cette « richesse » n'existe parfois qu'en théorie: les magistrats de la jeunesse se plaignent partout de *l'insuffisance de l'équipement tant personnel que matériel*. Les efforts conjugués du « social » et du « scientifique », qui se déploient toujours plus dans le « judiciaire », se heurtent constamment à divers obstacles et la rééducation totale de l'enfant et de la famille est encore une notion utopique. Autrement, la délinquance juvénile, et celle des adultes, ne seraient qu'un souvenir historique!

Les apports des sciences humaines au traitement des délinquants mineurs au sens strict, sont encore *loin d'être suffisants*. Les équipes de spécialistes, même là où elles existent et collaborent avec les tribunaux, n'y jouent le plus souvent que le rôle d'experts. Ils sont notamment appelés pour examiner les « cas » qui leur sont soumis par le juge et ne s'occupent pas, sauf exception, du traitement de ces cas. Ainsi, ces apports — si appréciés dans la phase préparatoire et dans celle du jugement, phases auxquelles ces « experts » participent parfois personnellement — ne se prolongent pas avec la même intensité dans la phase dénommée « exécution » et qui est cependant la phase principale, la clef de voûte de l'intervention judiciaire. Et c'est dans cette phase décisive que le contact juge-expert s'affaiblit ou devient épisodique sinon inexistant. Il est notamment exceptionnel que le même « expert » (médecin, psychiatre, psychologue, pédagogue, assistant social) qui a élaboré (seul ou en équipe) le diagnostic et proposé un traitement, soit ensuite engagé personnellement dans ce dernier.

Toutes les mesures éducatives appliquées en milieu ouvert ou en institution sont confiées en principe à d'autres personnes: délégué à la liberté surveillée, famille d'accueil, éducateur. Les personnes sont presque partout insuffisantes en nombre, donc trop chargées, pas toujours suffisamment qualifiées, encore trop souvent mal payées et sans grande perspective de promotion professionnelle. De plus, le prestige social de ces professions sociales est encore modeste. Il ne faut donc pas s'étonner de la médiocrité des résultats dans certains cas.

Par exemple, lorsque la mesure de choix qu'est la probation (la liberté surveillée) s'exerce dans des conditions défavorables; notamment assistant social surchargé (quelques dizaines de cas), l'influence éducative sur le mineur et sur son milieu est très réduite sinon nulle.

Les réussites sont dues plutôt au fait qu'on laisse en liberté surveillée les cas présentant une légère inadaptation. D'autre part, une bonne partie réussit probablement grâce à la maturation naturelle. Mais cette maturation est parfois partielle ou superficielle — ce qui donne des êtres immatures comme disent les psychologues. C'est peut-être aussi la cause d'un certain nombre de récidives qui nécessitent un placement en institution.

Le placement institutionnel ne bénéficie pas pleinement encore, lui aussi, des apports scientifiques. S'il arrive parfois que la collaboration d'un des experts judiciaires (neuro-psychiatre ou psychologue le plus souvent) soit sollicitée, ce spécialiste ne peut consacrer que quelques heures par semaine (parfois même par mois) s'il n'est pas engagé à demi-temps, ce qui est rare, ou à plein temps, ce qui l'est encore plus. Exceptionnels sont aussi les établissements qui disposent d'une équipe multidisciplinaire regroupant les spécialistes nécessaires au traitement des mineurs caractériels, très perturbés, qui sont nombreux dans les maisons de rééducation. Les criminologues ne sont connus des

institutions que comme hôtes de passage (à l'occasion d'une visite organisée par un congrès par exemple) ou comme chercheurs étudiant des « cas » et/ou des dossiers mais « ne se mêlant pas à l'aventure » de la rééducation.

Or, c'est *précisément le domaine du traitement* tant en cure libre qu'en institution *qui doit servir de champ d'action à tous les spécialistes* intéressés aux problèmes que pose la délinquance juvénile. Ils devraient donc être impliqués dans la *recherche permanente en liaison dialectique avec le traitement*. Cela concerne en particulier les techniciens qui sont appelés à examiner les mineurs prévenus. Leurs constatations et encore plus leurs propositions de traitement restent comme des chèques sans provision s'ils ne peuvent pas eux-même participer à la mise en oeuvre de la réhabilitation, processus difficile dans lequel une erreur peut être lourde de conséquences.

L'application des sciences humaines au traitement des jeunes délinquants nécessite l'élaboration de méthodes et de techniques spéciales, adaptées à leur but. Les unes et les autres, empruntées aux diverses disciplines, demandent une *adaptation criminologique*, si elles ont à atteindre les objectifs de la politique criminelle. Les spécialistes des sciences de l'homme, s'ils sont impliqués dans le traitement, doivent devenir criminologues-techniciens. Contraints de travailler non dans le silence de leur cabinet ou laboratoire — *in vitro* — mais *in vivo*, ils seront obligés de trouver des solutions aux problèmes qui sont restés jusqu'ici insolubles. Confronter la théorie et la pratique c'est leur rôle. Le juge, dont l'action s'estompe dans cette phase, n'intervient que s'il doit sanctionner juridiquement une modalité du traitement. En accomplissant ensemble cette tâche, où le droit côtoie constamment les sciences humaines, le juge et ses collaborateurs réadaptent actuellement ceux qu'ils appellent « inadaptés » plutôt que délinquants, par les procédés de rééducation ordinaire basés sur la discipline et le travail (scolaire et professionnel) adoucis par des loisirs organisés. Mais cela ne suffit pas pour les cas-problèmes (multirécidivistes, très perturbés).

Diverses expériences se font jour ci et là: la formation de petits groupes, l'application de thérapies de groupe par des thérapeutes, ou des techniques de group-work par des éducateurs (s'ils sont soigneusement sélectionnés, formés et supervisés par des psychiatres qualifiés dans ce domaine) représentent une amélioration des moyens de réadaptation. Mais ces moyens étant très limités ne permettent que de rééduquer un petit nombre de ceux qui en ont besoin. D'autres expériences concernant l'adaptation du case-work en cure libre (82) se font aussi. Le traitement de courte durée du type « sharp, shock, short » s'effectue dans les « detention centers » anglais, la thérapie non-directive, inaugurée par Aichhorn à Vienne, est appliquée aux EUA (cf. Redl) tout comme le traitement intensif et à court terme (Highfield, Sommerfield, etc), le « Citizenship training program » à Boston ou le traitement spécial à Boscoville au Canada ou le régime paramilitaire inspiré par Makarenko dans les pays de l'Est. Divers essais se multiplient, mais aucune de ces méthodes et techniques ne s'est encore imposée ni généralisée.

Une expérimentation permanente de différents types de traitement aux divers types de délinquants *et une évaluation des résultats obtenus* par les services scientifiques et utilitaires à la fois, *sont nécessaires*. La science ne peut pas faire progresser la pratique en se distinguant d'elle. Seule leur *collaboration dialectique* permettra d'atteindre une efficacité maximum. Le principe: éduquer au lieu de punir, a suscité un éventail de mesures étendu, diversifié et gradué. Leur durée est indéterminée ce qui permet de prolonger le traitement presque aussi longtemps qu'il est nécessaire. Les juges des enfants qui ont appelé à leur secours les spécialistes tels que les pédo-psychiatres, les psychologues,

les sociologues, les criminologues ne demandent que de cheminer côte à côte avec eux, jusqu'au bout! En général, les magistrats de la jeunesse et tous ceux qui sont réellement impliqués dans l'affaire, expriment leur conviction « d'être sur une bonne voie » et ils ne demandent qu'à y progresser pour avoir de bons résultats.

Et quels sont les résultats?

Les juges des mineurs constatent que « la vraie et inquiétante délinquance juvénile est en régression et qu'elle se situe désormais davantage au niveau correctionnel qu'au niveau criminel » (83). Le président du Tribunal pour enfants de la Seine affirme qu'en France, « les trois quarts des mineurs dits délinquants révèlent une délinquance purement occasionnelle » c. à d. que « un mineur sur quatre commande la mise en oeuvre d'un ensemble d'investigations et de mesures appropriées destinées à le réinsérer socialement » (84). On retrouve les mêmes proportions dans la majorité des pays dits développés, comme le prouve l'étude faite par l'Association Internationale des Magistrats de la Jeunesse (AIMJ) en 1966, à l'occasion de son VII^e Congrès.

Mais, malgré ces constatations encourageantes, la délinquance juvénile reste encore un « fléau social » et les chiffres absolus des délinquants mineurs, qui ne cessent d'augmenter, dépassent parfois l'accroissement démographique. Ce phénomène montre que *dans le domaine de la prévention il y a encore plus à faire que ce qui a été fait.*

Sur le plan du *traitement*, il convient de souligner que *le problème reste posé par les multirécidivistes*, par « ceux à l'égard desquels l'étincelle n'a pas jailli ». Ils ne constituent qu'une petite fraction dans la masse des délinquants mineurs déferés aux tribunaux. L'examen des statistiques dans une quarantaine de pays qui ont répondu au questionnaire de l'AIMJ en 1966, permet d'établir les taux de la récidive à env. 30 %, bien que plusieurs Etats européens (notamment Belgique, France, Hollande, Italie, Suisse, démocraties populaires) présentent des taux de récidive inférieurs.

Mais, ce qui ressort de l'examen de ces « réussites » et « échecs » est que « nous essayons souvent de comparer "des oeufs et des pommes" » (Ketchau). Il n'existe pas de dénominateur commun pour le « succès » ou l'« échec » ni une même définition de la délinquance juvénile et de la récidive. En outre, les statistiques sont incomplètes et elles reposent sur des critères différents d'un pays à l'autre.

Il faut donc renoncer à une estimation quantitative même approximative. On peut tout de même admettre qu'une petite minorité des jeunes délinquants se montrent réfractaires à tout traitement et posent des problèmes que les théoriciens les plus savants comme les praticiens les plus expérimentés sont actuellement impuissants à résoudre.

Ces jeunes délinquants, « ne devraient plus être considérés comme des mineurs en danger, mais comme des mineurs dangereux » (85). La rééducation de ces types de délinquants dits caractériels, gravement perturbés, inadaptés, psychopathes, sociopathes, etc., reste un problème non résolu. On finit par les transférer dans les pénitenciers, alors que même pour les adultes la tendance générale se manifeste en faveur des peines non privatives de liberté! Ainsi, ceux que des spécialistes n'ont pas amendés, sont confiés à des geôliers de prisons! Mais, avaient-ils vraiment des « spécialistes » dans la maison d'éducation? Avons-nous déjà de vrais spécialistes de la criminologie appliquée? Nos efforts devraient viser à pallier ces lacunes, car des lacunes il y en a et elles méritent d'être comblées. Le Prof. Di Tullio fait remarquer que: « les

experts en criminologie clinique affirment que pour chaque condamné il existe toujours une possibilité de traitement capable de lui redonner l'équilibre psychique nécessaire pour une adaptation constante aux exigences de la morale codifiée » (86). Cette note encourageante nous suggère de diriger notre attention vers les courants d'idées qui émergent actuellement de la science et de la pratique et qui tendent à rechercher les possibilités de resocialiser les cas les plus désespérés.

Vers une nouvelle conception du traitement.

On peut admettre que le passage de la répression à la rééducation des délinquants mineurs est en principe à peu près terminé. L'idée a fait le tour du monde, adoptée par les législations modernes, elle se matérialise de plus en plus. L'apport des sciences humaines à cette évolution est indiscutable. En suivant l'évolution de cet apport nous sommes arrivés au stade où *la recherche engagée doit servir l'action*, se justifier par et pour l'action et être orientée par les besoins réels. C'est ce que M. Ceccaldi exprimait dans son rapport au séminaire de l'ONU à Frascati en 1962, en affirmant qu'« une véritable dialectique doit s'installer entre la recherche et l'activité » (87).

En même temps, les deux derniers congrès de l'AIMJ (en 1962 et 1966) s'efforçaient de définir le « rôle actif » demandé aux magistrats de la jeunesse et à leurs collaborateurs dans le traitement des jeunes délinquants. Ce rôle leur impose non seulement une ouverture continue aux sciences de l'homme (ce qu'on peut constater depuis les débuts de l'activité de cette magistrature) mais encore un *nouveau style d'intervention*: évaluer constamment la valeur des apports de ces sciences pour le traitement des mineurs en liaison avec la réalité opérationnelle, c. à d. établir les relations dialectiques de collaboration quotidienne entre la science et la pratique afin que la fertilisation des idées soit mutuelle.

Un mouvement analogue a été récemment constaté dans le domaine de la criminologie. Après avoir franchi quelques étapes (dont nous avons donné un exemple en passant en revue les recherches étiologiques), actuellement « le développement pratique de la criminologie est subordonné à une nouvelle approche. Elle va du concret à l'abstrait et vice-versa, sans se laisser renfermer cependant dans un "processus en court circuit". Bien au contraire: les idées vont de la criminologie aux sciences de l'homme et des sciences de l'homme au droit pénal » (88).

Dans le même ordre d'idées, le Comité européen pour les problèmes criminels du Conseil de l'Europe a révélé qu'« il existe une interdépendance entre l'administrateur social (législateur, fonctionnaire supérieur, juge, procureur, policier, etc.) et le chercheur scientifique... qui doivent collaborer, même s'ils ne le souhaitent pas ». (Rapport Cornil, p. 36). Dernièrement les études de ce Comité se sont portées sur ce qui nous intéresse le plus: les relations entre les types de délinquants et les types de traitement (1967). « L'élaboration de nouvelles formes de traitement pour des catégories spéciales de délinquants — conclut un des rapporteurs de ce sujet, M. Spark (Royaume Uni) — peut apparaître comme le domaine le plus prometteur de tous ».

En effet, la grande majorité des apports scientifiques ayant pour but la connaissance étiologique de la délinquance juvénile, ne tenaient pas compte de leur utilité pratique, et, par conséquent, ils n'ont plus aujourd'hui qu'une valeur historique. L'accumulation des constatations « scientifiques » dans ce domaine est telle « qu'il est permis de se demander — avec M. Huchon — si cette collecte de données brutes n'est pas arrivée à un terme momentané » (89). C'est ainsi

que MM Blanc et Susini soulignent « la tendance générale en sciences humaines de chercher à savoir si ce que l'on fait est utile » (90) et le Dr. Börjeson (Suède) propose un nouveau mode de travail inspiré de la conception cybernétique. Le concept central de ce système est le feed-back, expression anglaise qu'il a traduite par embrayage et qu'on peut interpréter par effet en retour. En participant au traitement, le « chercheur actif » procède en cours de route aux ajustements nécessaires tout en évaluant le traitement.

Cette nouvelle orientation qui se fait jour à la fois dans le monde judiciaire et dans le monde scientifique, comme nous avons essayé de le démontrer, pourrait être la plus bénéfique. Il serait sans doute prématuré de dire jusqu'où elle nous conduira et par quelles voies. Mais il est certain que c'est un chemin de progrès sur lequel se retrouveront non seulement les juges des mineurs avec leurs collaborateurs mais aussi les autres magistrats et les services impliqués dans le traitement des délinquants en général. Ce chemin, les juges des enfants l'ont suivi dès le début. On peut évoquer les premières études du Dr. Healy aux EUA et le rôle décisif joué dans la réforme belge de 1912 par le juge Wets, le Ministre de la Justice Carton de Wiart et le savant professeur Prins. On retrouve de nos jours cette fructueuse collaboration inter-fonctions entre les magistrats de la jeunesse, l'Office de la protection de l'enfance et le Centre d'étude de la délinquance juvénile à Bruxelles. On pourrait aussi citer l'exemple de la France, depuis le fameux tandem Juge Rollet-Docteur Heuyer jusqu'à la collaboration toujours plus étroite des tribunaux pour enfants avec le Centre de formation et de recherche de Vaucresson qui a amené les juges français à participer aux réunions de synthèse de l'équipe des spécialistes.

En Italie, on procède depuis 1954 à une évaluation systématique des méthodes d'intervention judiciaire et scientifique à des fins de rééducation des jeunes délinquants en associant la recherche et le traitement. Un Bureau central pour la rééducation des mineurs coiffe les activités des 24 bureaux régionaux de services sociaux des tribunaux des mineurs et des 24 centres médico-psychopédagogiques, dépendant du Ministère de la Justice. « C'est ainsi — affirme M. Redaelli, Directeur du Bureau — que tout le système d'intervention rééducative s'est développé et continue à se développer en se basant sur la recherche, l'expérience et le contrôle des résultats. (91) L'exemple de la mise en oeuvre du traitement par une équipe de spécialistes travaillant dans une collaboration dialectique est pour nous d'autant plus précieux que M. Reale a soutenu que c'est le juge qui doit diriger cette équipe et que le Professeur Di Tullio a admis cette position. Nous sommes heureux de souligner que les opinions des savants italiens et des autorités supérieures de ce pays rejoignent celles de l'AIMJ et de ses membres particuliers.

Il ne s'agit aucunement d'un dirigisme judiciaire, ni non plus d'une supériorité du droit sur les autres sciences. C'est « la prédominance de la coopération sur les rivalités » — selon l'expression du Dr. Amado (92) — qui doit caractériser le travail en équipe. Le concours du juge y est cependant nécessaire, car tous les autres collaborateurs ne possèdent pas comme lui cette vue d'ensemble. Ils ne voient que « des arbres particuliers dans la forêt » — la vue de cette dernière n'appartient qu'au juge. Seul le magistrat de la jeunesse peut embrasser la totalité du phénomène: son ampleur, ses fluctuations, ses tendances évolutives et ses traits caractéristiques, ainsi que les exigences de la politique criminelle qui en découlent et les possibilités pratiques de la mettre en oeuvre. Tous les cas sérieux nécessitant des examens devraient être évalués dans ce contexte. En choisissant le traitement le plus approprié au sujet donné, le juge ne peut jamais perdre de vue ni les objectifs de la prévention de la délinquance juvénile ni ceux de la défense sociale. C'est donc lui qui est le mieux placé pour dresser un programme d'action pratique et stimuler la recherche scientifique là où elle est la plus nécessaire. Evidemment, n'importe quel juge ne peut pas remplir une tâche aussi importante — il faut qu'il soit vraiment spécialisé et engagé. L'un d'eux, animé par le zèle des pionniers,

écrivait: « Au sein de la magistrature traditionnelle, la magistrature de la jeunesse a apporté un ferment qui travaille en profondeur et les institutions et les hommes. Ainsi, pour avoir voulu être réellement les magistrats de la jeunesse, ils sont en train de se révéler la jeunesse de la magistrature » (93).

Les idées, qui depuis longtemps allaient du scientifique au juriste et au juge, grâce aux magistrats de la jeunesse et aux criminologues cliniciens, vont aussi en sens inverse. Mais ce n'est pas un jeu de boomerang que M. Pinatel nous propose dans sa chronique. Il s'agit d'une nouvelle approche, d'une approche longitudinale — dit-il — « qui permet de suivre l'évolution d'un cas pendant sa vie durant pour aboutir à une biographie complète et impartiale par l'observation systématique et diverses techniques d'examen » (94). Nous aimerions voir ces idées se réaliser non seulement sur le plan d'une « observation » et pour aboutir à une « biographie » mais aussi et surtout dans le traitement et pour aboutir à de bons résultats.

Parfois le traitement d'un cas embrasse pour nous, comme pour M. Pinatel, « la vie durant », en tout cas, la vie active. Il s'agit de ces adultes-enfants qui ne sont jamais assez mûrs pour être entièrement libres et autonomes. Il faut les entourer, les traiter, les guider, les aider, aussi discrètement que possible, pour que cette quasi-tutelle ne soit pas vexatoire pour eux. « Il n'est plus question de « manipuler » de telle manière un obsédé et de telle autre un délinquant sexopathe » — écrit M. Hochmann — « L'homme en face de moi doit être apostrophé en homme et c'est comme un homme que je pénètre dans la relation. On conçoit donc que la psychothérapie ne soit plus l'exclusive des professionnels... Il faut qu'un noyau grandissant de « facilitateurs » se développe dans la communauté autour des professionnels et de leurs anciens « malades » à leur tour devenus thérapeutes... Le courant « spontanéiste » — auquel nous nous rattachons — conduit vers une déspecification et une déprofessionnalisation grandissante de la psychothérapie » (95). Surtout il faut s'occuper non seulement des cas-problèmes mais aussi de leur milieu. Pour une oeuvre de si longue haleine, la collaboration des bénévoles et de la communauté est indispensable (96).

C'est donc dans le domaine du traitement des récidivistes invétérés, qui inclut la soi-disante post-cure, que se situe la champ d'action de la science et de la justice, ou plutôt de la science intégrée dans la justice sociale. Mais nous sommes ici encore au stade des tâtonnements, heureusement que « la nature de notre ignorance commence à nous apparaître » comme disait Wilkins « ce qui est — ajoute-t-il — encourageant ». Il faut que la science qui nous a imposé le traitement des mineurs délinquants s'en charge maintenant sérieusement. Les jeunes délinquants-problèmes ne sont pas nombreux et nous sommes déjà en état de nous occuper d'eux individuellement, même « pendant leur vie durant », s'il le faut.

D'autre part, le traitement de la seule personne du délinquant, mineur ou majeur, si efficace soit-il, ne suffit pas. La recherche étiologique et la pratique des tribunaux pour mineurs prouvent que le plus souvent la famille est impliquée, parfois même le milieu au sens le plus large. La nécessité d'englober ce milieu dans l'action thérapeutique nous paraît nécessaire et inévitable si nous voulons que les apports des sciences humaines au traitement des délinquants mineurs et majeurs soient réels et efficaces.

Résumé

Pour résumer brièvement ce que nous venons d'énoncer, nous constatons que les apports des sciences humaines ont rendu de grands services dans la lutte contre la délinquance juvénile, notamment:

— Dans le domaine de *l'étiologie*, en étudiant les « causes » et les facteurs de la délinquance juvénile, les chercheurs des diverses disciplines scientifiques ont relevé entre autres: le rôle de l'hérédité et des anomalies psychiques et somatiques; ils ont éclairé l'origine psycho-pathologique de la plupart des comportements humains déviants (individuels et collectifs - phénomènes de groupe). D'autre part, ils ont mis en lumière l'influence des structures sociales défavorables qui engendrent la pathologie sociale ainsi que divers facteurs mésologiques qui peuvent devenir criminogènes. Grâce à ces connaissances, nous pouvons mieux organiser la prévention et la lutte contre la délinquance juvénile.

— Dans le domaine du *droit*, les sciences sociales et médico-psychologiques ont provoqué des réformes législatives qualifiées de révolutionnaires. Le passage de l'acte à son auteur remplace de plus en plus la répression par la rééducation et le rejet social par la resocialisation et l'insertion sociale. Le droit des mineurs constitue l'exemple le plus convainquant de la pénétration des sciences de l'homme dans la justice des hommes pour que cette justice puisse être rendue humainement et au profit de l'humanité. Les magistrats de la jeunesse les plus expérimentés (Lox) se demandent déjà si la dichotomie du droit en droit pénal et civil se justifie dans ce domaine, et si elle ne doit pas faire place à un droit nouveau — *droit de protection* — dont le but sera plus de préparer l'avenir que de sanctionner le passé. Le droit des mineurs n'est donc pas un droit mineur, « il est devenu l'aube d'une civilisation nouvelle exigeant un droit rénové, susceptible de s'intégrer dans un complexe de sciences sociales pour constituer avec elles une science de l'action et, plus précisément, des changements sociaux planifiés » (97).

— Dans le domaine *judiciaire*, les sciences de l'homme conjuguées avec le mouvement d'idées humanitaires ont fait surgir une profession nouvelle: le juge des enfants. Né il y a 70 ans dans le Nouveau Monde, ce magistrat nouveau a plus transformé la fonction judiciaire durant ces quelques décennies que ne l'ont fait tous les autres juges au cours des siècles passés. Enflammé d'abord par une étincelle de l'amour et de la charité, guidé par le principe du « *parens patriae* » et éclairé par les lumières de la science, ce juge devient un serviteur du progrès qui essaye de concilier les qualités de l'arbitre et de l'homme d'action. Attiré plus par le réalisme de la vie que par les dogmes archaïques, ce nouveau-venu dans la famille judiciaire traditionnelle fait preuve à la fois d'audacieuses initiatives et d'autorité en se retranchant d'emblée d'une activité judiciaire « un peu magique et divinisée ». Il n'aime pas revêtir la robe ornée d'un jabot et d'une chaîne, ni porter une perruque, ni prendre une mine solennelle, ni entrer comme un acteur sur la scène dans une salle quasi théâtrale où les drames humains les plus bouleversants sont offerts en spectacle public et gratuit. Ce magistrat de vocation attend dans l'intimité de son cabinet les « enfants traduits en justice » et les fait asseoir non pas au « banc d'infamie » mais sur une chaise en face de lui et entre leurs parents. Et comme ces « enfants qui ont failli » (98) ne sont pas traités en « accusés », il n'y a pas d'« acte d'accusation » ni, en général, de « duels verbaux et verbeux qui opposent le parquet et la défense » (99). Les lumières nécessaires sont en principe apportées d'avance par un travail en commun du juge et des spécialistes de diverses branches scientifiques et sociales qui aident le juge à prendre la mesure la plus apte à éduquer ce petit homme pour qu'il puisse devenir un vrai homme.

La procédure dépourvue de formalisme, assumée par le même juge à tous les stades de l'intervention judiciaire, permet de statuer en toute connaissance de cause, à la différence de la procédure traditionnelle où « l'idéal consiste à

écarter d'une affaire toute personne qui la connaît bien » (Robert). Le « verdict » est remplacé par la décision, la condamnation par la revalidation, la tarification des sanctions selon l'infraction par le choix des mesures selon les besoins du mineur et de son milieu, l'« exécution » des peines par l'application des mesures et par le traitement, la « res judicata » par la modification des mesures et leur adaptation à l'évolution de l'enfant ou de l'adolescent, le « pénitencier » et la prison par la maison d'éducation ou l'établissement de rééducation. L'engagement personnel du juge dès le début du procès jusqu'à la fin du traitement, sa collaboration avec médecin, psychiatre, psychologue, instituteur, éducateur, travailleur social, prêtre, infirmière, policier ou tous les autres « travailleurs de l'humain » donnent à la magistrature une mission nouvelle.

— Dans le domaine de la *justice*, l'introduction des représentants des sciences humaines dans la juridiction spéciale pour la jeunesse (et la famille) a changé la conception de « rendre la justice ». La justice nouvelle, telle qu'elle est rendue aux tribunaux pour mineurs, est vouée à devenir scientifique par ses méthodes, sociale, éducative, protectrice et préventive par son but.

Elle est *scientifique*, car elle « se nourrit de la sève de la science » et tend à combiner l'action et la recherche criminologique.

Elle est *sociale*, car la resocialisation de jeunes délinquants est son but qui s'accomplit pour la société, dans la société et par la société.

Elle est *éducative* et *protectrice*, car elle s'efforce d'atteindre ses objectifs par l'éducation de l'enfant et de l'adolescent et par la protection des valeurs humaines.

Elle est *préventive*, car son action ne se limite pas au mineur en question mais elle s'étend à sa famille, à son milieu. Elle inspire diverses initiatives dans l'action préventive générale et elle y participe par le truchement de ses services auxiliaires.

Ainsi, cette nouvelle justice est fort éloignée de la Thémis aux yeux bandés tenant dans une main un glaive, dans l'autre une balance et qui jugeait les hommes sans les voir. Ce sont les « audacieux pionniers », les juges des enfants, qui enlevèrent le bandeau, et « quand la déesse aperçut l'enfant elle trouva que point n'était besoin du glaive » (Nemeth). Pour éduquer, rééduquer ou protéger l'enfant et sa famille, Thémis doit avoir les yeux grands ouverts et elle a encore besoin des yeux des spécialistes. Et la balance, elle doit la troquer contre une loupe, voire un microscope!

Les apports des sciences humaines ont aidé et aident constamment la justice à devenir un symbole de l'humanisme judiciaire qui trace des chemins nouveaux vers de nouveaux horizons.

Pour qu'on puisse tirer la meilleure part de cette évolution, il faut assurer un équipement optimum qui est loin d'être réalisé partout où il le faudrait. Aussi doit-on appuyer la résolution du VII^e Congrès de l'Association internationale des magistrats de la jeunesse attirant solennellement l'attention des pouvoirs publics de tous les pays du monde sur l'insuffisance dramatique des moyens de toutes sortes nécessaires à la protection de la jeunesse... et mettant respectueusement en garde les autorités compétentes sur les dangers résultant de l'impossibilité d'appliquer, faute du personnel socio-éducatif et des établissements indispensables, les textes de protection de l'enfance.

A N N E X E

LES DECISIONS A PRENDRE

1. LES DÉCISIONS SANS TRAITEMENT.

Le dessaisissement en faveur d'une autre autorité (notamment celle du domicile des parents).

La transmission à l'autorité tutélaire.

Le « non-lieu » à l'échelon de l'instruction.

L'acquittement après les débats.

Le pardon judiciaire.

La sentence suspendue.

L'avertissement ou l'admonestation adressée à l'enfant (et aux parents).

Les règles de conduite (en allemand: Weisungen):

— positives: fréquenter l'école, se mettre au travail, suivre un cours (de roulage, par ex.), etc.

— négatives; diverses interdictions: de fréquenter certaines personnes, de résider en un certain lieu, de consommer des boissons alcooliques ou fumer, etc.

Les actes réparatoires: indemniser la personne lésée, réparer le vélomoteur volé et endommagé, etc.

Les punitions symboliques: verser une contribution à la Croix Rouge, faire un don à une oeuvre sociale, présentation d'excuses à la victime, privation de plaisir, etc.

2. LES MESURES ÉDUCATIVES OU LE TRAITEMENT permettant de laisser l'enfant *en milieu familial*.

Remise à la famille (éventuellement avec des conseils).

Remise à la famille combinée avec un contrôle judiciaire (la surveillance des parents engageant leur responsabilité).

Remise à la famille combinée avec la probation, la liberté surveillée, l'assistance éducative.

Remise à une personne digne de confiance (« fit person », « Vertrauenswürdige Person »):

— un proche parent: grand-père, grand-mère, tante, oncle, frère ou soeur aînée, etc.

— un étranger: un nourricier, un patron, un employeur, un membre d'une organisation. Placement familial (l'enfant est accueilli dans une famille dont il partage la vie).

Placement semi-familial — dans une petite home, un « nid » (5-10 enfants).

La liberté surveillée ou la probation sous ses diverses modalités:

d'épreuve, d'observation, d'éducation, de patronage, de post-cure (« aftercare »).

Autres formes de traitement — traitement spécial: psychiatrique, psychothérapique, médical, socio-éducatif ou autre.

Le sursis au placement institutionnel — toutes les mesures qui permettent de laisser l'enfant dans la famille (propre ou une famille d'accueil) peuvent se combiner avec le sursis.

3. LE TRAITEMENT EN SEMI-LIBERTÉ.

L'internat de jour — institution qui recueille les enfants tôt le matin et les garde jusqu'au soir en leur fournissant une nourriture appropriée, un écolage adapté à leur niveau mental. Les éducateurs s'occupent des enfants qui sont en outre supervisés par un service médico-psycho-pédagogique. Un assistant social forme le lien entre l'institution et la famille, où les enfants passent la nuit, les fêtes, le week-end.

Le foyer de semi-liberté fait le contraire: les mineurs restent dans l'institution les heures qu'ils passeraient normalement dans la famille, c. à d. les heures des repas, de la nuit, évent. le temps libre, tout en fréquentant l'école, l'atelier, etc.

4. LES MESURES RÉÉDUCATIVES INSTITUTIONNELLES OU LE TRAITEMENT EN INSTITUTION.

Les types d'établissements:

Maisons d'enfants, foyers d'adolescents.

Etablissements d'éducation, de rééducation, de correction, etc.

Etablissements spécialisés (pour débilés mentaux, déficients sensoriels, infirmes, oligophrènes, épileptiques, etc.).

Petits homes spécialisés - surtout pour caractériels. Ils se rapprochent du groupe familial: un couple d'éducateurs s'occupe de 8-12 mineurs.

Villages d'enfants et d'adolescents (Civitavecchia en Italie, George Republic aux EUA, les colonies de travail de Makarenko en URSS, en sont des exemples).

Une mesure spéciale, prévue en Uruguay, est l'envoi au service militaire ou à la marine « lorsque le mineur remplit les conditions nécessaires et a la vocation pour la carrière militaire ». On applique cette mesure pour une durée indéterminée et toujours sous surveillance, pour commencer.

5. SANCTIONS ET PEINES.

Remise aux parents ou à l'école pour punition. En URSS - aux organisations sociales. Sanctions contre les parents.

La réprimande (en Suisse notamment), elle est publique en URSS (blâme public).

L'amende et sa conversion: prestation de travail, arrêts.

Le travail correctionnel.

Les châtiments corporels (certain pays d'Asie et d'Afrique).

Arrêts spéciaux (arrêts de week-end - Freizeitarrest en Allemagne, « attendance centre » en Angleterre), arrêts scolaires (en Suisse), arrêts de courte durée, arrêts disciplinaires, arrêts de durée prolongée.

La détention (Salles d'arrêts en Suisse ou Detention Centre au Royaume Uni).

L'emprisonnement avec sursis et patronage.

L'emprisonnement ferme, dénommé aussi détention (en principe dans une prison juvénile ou dans une section spéciale).

Au Mexique on connaît la « réclusion à domicile ».

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CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY THE HUMAN SCIENCES IN METHODS OF TREATMENT OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

by H. Veillard-Cybulska

Introduction - History of the movement

"The history of treatments to which juvenile delinquents have been subjected in the past, is the history of human sufferings" (1). Individuals who had violated the law, whether minors or adults, were considered as "scoundrels", "impure or impious" individuals who had to be punished by the community to appease the ire of the gods, or otherwise perish, even if their guilt had not been proved.

Thus, among ancient laws, we find one known as the "code de Hammourabi" (second millennium before Christ) which stated: "should a house collapse and kill the proprietor's child, the death punishment should be inflicted on the architect's child". And again: "should a woman be stricken and death follows, the daughter of the aggressor shall, in her turn, be put to death" (2). Thus, "to render justice", meant inflicting the death penalty, and not necessarily on the culprit. The same concept of "vendetta" is still in existence today in certain countries where children are often the innocent victims of this practice.

If we examine ancient laws closely, we can still find traces of the Mosaic law known as "talion", which provided for the punishment of an offence by a similar penalty, such as "an eye for an eye, or a tooth for a tooth". In 1384, in Constance, a boy had his tongue torn out for having blasphemed. It has been recorded that in past centuries, old men could be found with their fingers missing, having been guilty of thieving as children; those found with one hand only had committed thefts as adults. This was considered as a method of "treatment" - treatment inspired by primitive justice based on religious principles, but which also sprang from legal science in the hands of pontiffs, priests, men venerated for their advanced years, scholars, philosophers, legal consultants, kings, emperors, or, in brief, anyone considered as an eminent personality. The responsibility of juvenile delinquents was considered as "attenuated" and penalties were reduced accordingly, on the basis that they were "miniature adults". Only small children (under 7 years of age, for example) could not be punished, but after a certain age, which varied from country to country, children and adolescents were subject to chastisement, although it might be less severe in nature. They, however, were not exempt from capital punishment, and many cases of this type can be found in the judicial chronicles of the time.

In 1555, for example, an 11 year old child was decapitated in Germany for having strangled a school friend while they were playing together. In 1629, in England, an 8 year old child was hanged for having set 2 barns on fire, and in 1670 in Dresden, a girl of thirteen was put to death by the sword after she had been found guilty of poisoning someone (3).

When the notion of expiation substituted that of vengeance, children also had to expiate for their sins through suffering so that they could repent, whence the expression "to set a child to do penance".

One might well suppose that these cruel and inhuman treatments, as well as these absurd and illogical punishments brought more satisfaction to the "offended" society

Note: The word "delinquent" is no longer adequate to qualify the great majority of children and adolescents remitted to juvenile courts, and who should rather be considered as unruly, happy-go-lucky, reckless or maladjusted individuals, more often the victims of mediocre parents than really bad subjects. This is the reason why we often qualify this term by adding an adjective so as to identify more clearly a minor guilty of recidivism or of a serious offence, by referring to him as a "true delinquent". The use of the term "delinquent" in my paper should then be interpreted as a mere technical term, to avoid a round-about phrase, and not as one implying moral discrimination.

than actual means of salvation for the culprit, or served to intimidate the others. In the opinion of many famous criminologists this was, "after wars, the most brutal of all manifestations of human nature" (4).

Not so long ago, in Amiens (1847), two children aged 5 and 7, were tried before the French Assizes Court for arson. The prosecutor asked for a severe term of imprisonment of at least 10 years. But in this particular case the jury proved to have good sense and acquitted the young offenders. The two children involved had to be awakened before the verdict was read, having fallen asleep and slept right through the legal debates (5).

Before the human sciences brought enlightenment in this field where obscure reasoning and sheer ignorance prevailed, Christian Charity sought to alleviate the fate of the so-called guilty children through more humane treatments. The conditions of life which children had to bear in prison, provoked criticisms on the part of open-minded citizens and the sympathy of sensitive people in general.

Among the precursors of the movement for the re-education of young offenders, we can find the names of both famous and humble individuals, as well as those of men of good-will, or those of men known as "servants of God" by the thousands, or again the names of anonymous educationists. The first "Brephotrophia", according to Lutz (6), "were already remarkably well organized and already included trade-schools". Among them we should mention the St. Basile orphanage in Césarée (350 A.D.) and St. Marguebodou in Anger (400 A.D.). In 787 A.D., the Archbishop of Milan founded an institution dedicated to the care of illegitimate children in particular... Charlemagne won the title of "Protector of Childhood" (Capitulaire de Mantoue), Saint Louis, Francis the First and many others voiced their interest in children. The Italian Bishops Dateo and Ansperto, and Pope Innocent II as well as Clement XI, and many other municipality leaders of important towns did likewise.

But with the exception of isolated initiatives, the re-education and re-socialization of young offenders, vagabonds, beggars etc., took place within the walls of prisons or other institutions known as: children's hospitals, asylums, orphanages, hospices etc., where they had been confined to "cure their body and their soul".

Different orientations followed in succession (7), among which we can mention agricultural orientations, which were considered by some as "the improvement of the land by man, and the improvement of man by the land". Various types of "colonies" were founded in country districts and although they were still "correctional" in nature, they gradually replaced repression and expiation by work and discipline. In spite of Rousseau and Pestalozzi's influence and the work of many other pioneers, methods of treatment concerning young offenders progressed very slowly and desultorily here and there, through progress achieved in pedagogy, the devotion of a few "apostles" or the generosity of a few philanthropists.

In the XIX century, the movement in favour of juvenile delinquents, who were becoming more and more numerous, grew in intensity. The separation of juvenile prisoners from the adults began to take place in certain penal institutions and special prisons for minors also began to appear, such as the prison known as "La Petite Roquette" (1825) in Paris. But the most important of all innovations, Anglo-Saxon in origin, was the application of the probation system (8). According to this system, young people could be placed under the care of "fit persons" or in charitable institutions rather than interning them. This innovation became the starting point in the developments of techniques deriving from the social sciences, among which case-work is of primary importance.

The contributions made by literature or the press to this cause cannot be omitted. Many writers, such as Dickens in England, Hugo in France (who claimed that "a school about to open means a prison about to close"), Konopnicka in Poland, Gorki in Russia, Pestalozzi in Switzerland, and many others, contributed greatly in awakening public opinion in favour of these unhappy delinquent children.

François Coppée, in his book entitled "Coupable" described conditions in penal institutions towards the end of the last century. In their documentary articles, Louis Roubaux and Alexis Danan revealed the pitiful conditions of children's prisons (Bagnes

d'enfants), where these so-called "children of Cain" were detained. The Polish poet Marie Konopnicka, depicted "A child in court" and "A child being led to school as prescribed by the judge". More recently, Ellen Key prophesized the "century dedicated to childhood", while Makarenko in Russia wrote his "pedagogic poem" in connection with the young delinquents under his care. Cesbron, in his novel "*Chiens perdus sans colliers*", brought new methods used in the treatment of juvenile delinquents to the attention of the public, while Henri Joubrel in his book "*La pierre au cou*", acquainted his readers with a new profession, unknown to most, that of the educator of maladjusted young people.

Throughout the XX century, the cinema has also contributed to the cause by making serious films, of a certain artistic level, on this subject.

Before turning to the strictly scientific aspect of the problem, it seems quite fitting at this point to mention a few names among precursors of this great movement. Among them, we should recall Beccaria who, in his famous "Treatise" wrote: "the most efficacious and at the same time the most difficult means to prevent crime lies in education"... and further "the uncertain methods used, based on authoritarian measures should be abandoned since they only lead to hypocritical and transitory obedience" (9).

The first research-work done in this field was also undertaken by individual workers, who at first tried to give empirical explanations in regards to the increasing volume of juvenile delinquents, giving rise to a social problem in the wake of the industrial revolution. Things, however, began to take a decisive turn with the appearance of criminology as a science.

Contributions of human sciences in the etiological study of juvenile delinquency

Their origins can be traced to the work of Lombroso, an Italian doctor, and of his school, known as the anthropological or positive school. We are quite familiar with his works based on studies made on adult criminals, but very few people know that Lombroso actually brought young offenders into his sphere of studies.

79 children, less than 12 years of age, who had been placed in "houses of correction", were the first subjects he examined. This group included 40 thieves, 27 "bad subjects" or vagabonds, and 7 murderers. At the same time he examined 160 normal non-delinquent school children as a control and subsequently followed the case-history of 29 of them until adulthood. From his studies he came to the following conclusions: "Moral anomalies, which in an adult would constitute criminality, can be found in greater proportions and with similar symptoms in children, and this in all probability can be traced to hereditary factors. For these subjects, educative measures will not suffice; they will serve as a 'mask' only, and this actually is at the origin of all our illusions... It cannot change those born with perverse instincts. For them criminal asylums can be of some use, since they will stifle, right from the start, those manifestations deriving from their natural tendencies, which we unfortunately tend to overlook until it is too late to find a cure" (10).

In spite of Lombroso's fatalistic pessimism, his studies were very useful in focusing attention on the delinquent child as a "person" and on the necessity of studying his case.

The pitiful conditions in which the children of the proletariat lived, abandoned to their games in the streets of the new industrial towns, contributed to increase the number of young delinquents to proportions unknown until then. It was during this period that the influence of social conditions as well as economic factors were discovered to be basic factors leading to crime (facteurs criminogènes). "Poverty — so Engels wrote — can only lead to two results: death from hunger or theft". The fact that juvenile delinquency consisted mainly of misdemeanours against property, was considered by the sociologists as the most evident proof that social injustice engendered by a capitalistic regime was the direct cause of this phenomenon.

Ferri in Italy, and Lacassagne in France, although proceeding in this study by following other clues, came to incriminate the social environment as one of the major

causative factors. "The social environment is the culture fluid of criminality; the microbe is the criminal, an unimportant element until the day in which it finds the leavening which ferments it".

This consciousness of collective responsibility was the starting point for legislative and juridical reforms. The creation of juvenile courts and the auxiliary social services paved the way for wider research in the field of juvenile criminology. The "Psychopathological Institute" in Chicago was the first center for medico-pedagogical services attached to a juvenile delinquent court. Organized in 1909 by Dr. Healy, this pilot center had a two-fold program: practical work in the "Child's Guidance Clinic" and scientific research (11). The Healy-Bronner team was the first to use the method known as "case-study" i.e. the analysis of individual cases based on medico-psychological and sociological principles. These studies were then integrated with others on the evolutive aspect of the problem: the follow-up studies which developed rapidly due to the research work of another American couple - Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck (12).

The importance of psychic factors among causative factors of juvenile delinquency, brought to light by Healy and Bronner, who found 138 of them, led this kind of research work to be known as "the psychological school". Reckless (13) who grouped these factors in three categories, found that *individual factors* were twice as frequent as *social factors* and three times as frequent as *intermediary factors*.

This plurality of etiological factors did not, however solve the problem as to the origins of juvenile delinquency. Prof. Baley commented in regards to this problem: "There are two possibilities: either one must admit that in each individual case there is a supplementary 'X' present, aside from the recognized factors, or, better still, certain combinations of factors could, in effect, be considered pathogenic. The question remains: which ones? So far, psychological theories have not yet found a clear solution" (14).

In spite of criticisms launched against these theories, the psychological and psychiatric studies of delinquent youth have assumed ever-increasing importance. This young science can also claim numerous European pioneers: Burt in England (15), Heuyer in France (16), Batavia in Poland (17), Tramer in Switzerland (18), to mention the names of only a few of the scientists who paved the way for this particular type of research where both theory and practical work were considered. Since 1912, when Ernest Dupré introduced his theory of "instinctive perversions" at the Neurologists' Congress in Turin, the conviction that a correlation really existed between psychopathic factors and delinquency began to take hold. The conception of the *psychopathic personality* embodies various manifestations of this anomaly: instinctive mania, lucid insanity, moral insanity, perversities, degeneration, psychopathic derangements, personality disturbances. The category of young delinquents who belong to the latter group form a very controversial chapter in this field, according to Dr. Henry who affirms that "certain people refer to this group as a 'nosographic dustbin' in which a doctor or social worker tends to dump all those cases which escape classification - either because of the paradoxical nature of their constitution or, from a therapeutical point of view, because of their resistance to all attempts at re-adaptation" (19).

When the preceding "atomizing" tendencies of psychological studies were yet enriched by a new technique — the famous "intelligence metric ladder" devised by Binet-Simon and later improved by Stern and Terman — then all eyes turned to the "intelligence quotient" school of thought. It is not surprising, therefore, that *intelligence*, considered as the most evident and easily measurable manifestation, should become one of the "primordial etiological factors" among others. According to Goddard, mental deficiency ascertained in a young delinquent was sufficient to explain his crime (20). Pearce affirmed that a correlation between mental deficiency and juvenile delinquency was evident in Great Britain (21). Likewise Burt, whom I have already mentioned, found the proportion of mental disturbances in young delinquents was five times higher than in school boys of the same age. Merrill, using American research data, claimed that the I.Q. of juvenile delinquents was about 85 on the average, while the intelligence quotient of those committed to institutions was lower still (22). The Gluecks, in their research report, had underlined mental backwardness as one of the main causative factors in juvenile delinquency but changed their minds later on. "More recently", the authors write, "we have discovered that intellectual defi-

ciencies are not among the most important characteristics in 'delinquents' (23). Likewise, Sutherland, who had collected data from tests made in 145 institutions in the U.S.A., had found that between 1910 and 1914, 45 % of the young delinquents interned in his country showed mental deficiencies. Tests carried on between 1925 and 1928 revealed that this percentage did not really exceed 26 %. The difference was probably due to the examiners and their techniques rather than to the subjects examined (24). This diversity in premises and opinions, and specially in the disappointing results obtained with the testing techniques of the time, brought about the suppression of these tests in the USSR at first, and in the popular democracies later.

In a parallel manner to the movements in favour of the psychological approach, a new movement was evolving in Vienna: the *psycho-analytic school* founded by Freud. This branch of psychology "in depth", as it has been called, was enriched by Adler who brought to light the disturbing effects of inferiority complexes (25). The psycho-analytic approach was used primarily in the search for a possible explanation of juvenile delinquency through conflicts in early infancy, or various deficiencies affecting the "super-ego". It was Anna Freud, the daughter of this school's founder, (her father showed little interest in juvenile delinquents) who particularly studied deviations in the psychic development of children, in connection with her work in psycho-analysis (27). Among the psycho-analysts who took an interest in juvenile delinquents, we must place Aichhorn at the head of the list. He carried on his experimental psycho-analytic therapy in Vienna, using the *Verwahrloste Jugend* (Wayward Youth) as subjects (28). He also influenced other practitioners, Redl and Winemann for example (U.S.A.), who applied the same methods to children with a hate-love complex, without, however, achieving the results they hoped for (29). Melanie Klein (30), who also believed that the majority of difficult children should be psycho-analysed to disclose hidden factors and explain their behaviour, made use of psycho-analysis methods in their treatment. Friedländer (31) did likewise, and for her, delinquent behaviour could be attributed to disturbances in the psychic spheres of the "id, the ego, and the super-ego". Environment, according to her theories, would therefore play a secondary role. For Spitz (32) and Bowlby (33), the genesis of juvenile criminal offences can be traced to maternal affective deficiencies in early childhood, while for Andry and Bach the father's role should be emphasized.

Spitz also wrote (34): *"unhappiness during early infancy will later manifest itself in the dismal and joyless social relationships of adolescents", adding further: "deprived of the affective nourishment to which they were entitled, their only resource will be violence. The only path open to them is the destruction of the social order of which they were the victims. As children deprived of love, they are doomed to become adults full of hatred"*.

Andry, who examined 80 juvenile delinquents (11 to 15 years of age) and a control group as well, found that young delinquents have a keener perception of their fathers' faults than of their mothers', and also found poor affective relationships between these same youths and their fathers (35). Bach and Bremer underlined that *"rejection, on the part of the father, leads children to anti-social tendencies and a certain propensity for aggressive behaviour towards all authority, because of frustrations experienced through the father's attitude"* (36).

The repercussions of this theory are well-known. Judicial experts who draw inspiration from these texts, at times decree that a juvenile delinquent is a victim of affective deficiencies, a neurotic individual, or at other times consider him as a frustrated individual lacking a super-ego, or on the other hand, a victim of a defective super-ego, either rigid or ferocious.

According to other psycho-analysts, the Oedipus complex sometimes found in children, can often be traced as the origin of crimes such as parricides or matricides. The need for autopunishment can also lead to crime. According to Lebovici, a criminal act is *"an affective manifestation subsequent to a conflict arising from the reviviscence of punitive childhood conflicts"* (37). Thieving, in a large number of cases, would then largely be an act of compensation.

In his research reports Lagache (38) criticized these theories and numerous objections are still actually being raised by criminologists and psycho-analysts as well.

Lebovici expressed his own reactions in these terms: "By insisting too much on the importance of affective and educational deficiencies in the study of etiological factors in juvenile maladjustments, and by continually recalling these factors to our attention, we are assuming a great responsibility to the extent that we risk attaching too much importance to positive or negative measures adopted in the care of children (39). Along the same lines Henny reminds us that: "too much emphasis has probably been put on certain fixations which, in view of psycho-pathological descriptions, could appear definitive or irremediable due to an 'accident' in the evolutive formation of the child or because of circumstances, quite often only temporary, in his home life. Experience has taught us that this is not the case at all and that fortunately, life is ever-present as a driving-force, urging the child forward towards maturation, which cannot be definitely hindered by any one factor. Progress in evolutive development (reprise évolutive) frequently occurs and is often spectacular. Prognoses advanced by psychiatrists, quite often pessimistic in their final judgment, can also turn out to be rather exaggerated and not a single day passes that we do not find evidence of our errors in this domain" (40).

An original orientation, derived from psycho-analysis and enriched by the anthropological-sociological approach, was introduced by Erikson (41). According to him, since anti-social tendencies in young people can be traced to a crisis in the development of their feelings of identity, one must concentrate on studying "the roots" of ego in the social organization of the community (p. 276).

The author feels that everyone should be allowed to find his own style of personal integration, and that the "Wanderschaft", which in the middle Ages allowed a trial period of freedom between the irresponsible period of childhood and integration within the adult community, should be restored. Thus we may well consider him as one of the great advocates of "youth and freedom", pleading for a "psychological moratorium" for the young.

While followers of the Freud school developed individual methods in their study of juvenile criminology in different centers such as "Child Guidance Clinics", a few biologists, in a parallel manner directed their study of etiological factors towards constitutional factors.

Research on twins, in reference to criminality in twins, involving both identical and fraternal twins, found new impetus in particular through the work of genetists such as Lange, Krantz, and Stumpfl in Germany (42) and Rosanoff-Handy in the USA (43). Two hundred and twenty-five twins were examined and a correlation between parallel delinquents was established in the following proportions: 69.9% in the identical twins' group and 33% in the fraternal twins' group, which would prove the determining role played by hereditary factors.

A few research-workers have called attention to the role of certain physical lesions and to cranial trauma in particular. A study made in Poland (44) revealed that children who had suffered from this particular type of trauma were often found among persistent offenders, labeled as "the most spectacularly disturbed individuals, having committed the most serious offences such as house-breaking and armed robberies, infractions of the law or impulsive thefts". Bleuler and Kretschmer emphasized anomalies in growth, lack of hormonal equilibrium during puberty, or after-effects following various illnesses, as determining factors in juvenile delinquency. Lately quite a lot has been written about a genetic anomaly known as "the triple chromosome constitution or XYY chromosome constitution" among scientists, or "crime-chromosome constitution" or even "Cain's stigma" among journalists.

Professor Graven made quite a good resumé of the most recent research on the subject (thousands of cases were studied in Australia and in the USA in 1968) in the "Revue Internationale de Criminologie et de Police Technique No. 4-1968 et 1-1969". According to observations made in English and American penal institutions, "the inmates bearing the chromosome anomaly... showed a precocious tendency to delinquency". Their I.Q. did not exceed the 60 to 80 level, and they had several psychological characteristics in common such as an "impulsive nature, an unstable personality, affective retardation, low threshold of tolerance to frustrations and restraints, and on the contrary a highly excitable personality etc..."

These "long-limbed" delinquents (usually very tall individuals) were found to belong to the inveterate recidivist group of offenders. In Germany (45), England (46), the United States and in Switzerland in particular, a group of research scientists have made a study of the causative factors leading to recidivism and elaborated sociological prognosis methods. Erwin Frey, for example, standardized prognostic tests on the basis of 8 "bad traits" and obtained the following coefficients:

Personality anomalies	50	Type and seriousness of offence	20
Heredity	35	Educative environment	15
Precocity and frequency of delinquency	35	Degree of self-awareness and self-criticism	10
Educative difficulties	30	Bad company and wrong use of leisure	5

Frey did not observe any correlation between constitutional and hereditary factors except in a few cases — 44, half of whom were psychopathic subjects (no precise definition of this anomaly is given) — in his study of juvenile delinquents under his supervision as Youth Magistrate (Jugendanwalt) in Basle (47). On the other hand, the famous *prediction tables* elaborated by the Gluecks are the result of a vast research work carried on by a highly qualified team of specialists who examined about 1000 minors: 500 delinquent and 500 non-delinquent school children from the slum areas of Boston (48). Thanks to this analysis of causative factors, the Gluecks isolated 15 divergent factors which they grouped in three "prediction tables". According to them, the family-relationship table (discipline on the part of the father, a watchful eye on the part of the mother, affection between mother and father, family solidarity) assumes the most important role as "instrument of prognosis".

In spite of reserves advanced *a priori* on the part of many writers in this field in regards to this schematic and mechanically determined classification, through mathematical calculations of probabilities in delinquent behaviour patterns — these "prediction tables" are used experimentally in various scientific centers. More time is needed, however, before the results will be known. The research-work undertaken by the Gluecks — a model of research in the field of juvenile criminology — has never been equalled in its scope. But will it bear the fruits which the people involved hoped for? This is a point on which we might well reflect.

The penetrating influence of various scientific disciplines in etiological research, connected with juvenile delinquency, favoured a new orientation towards the elaboration of *classifications as to types of the young delinquents concerned*. The Glueck's research-work had established that "the majority of juvenile delinquents morphologically belonged to the 'mesomorphic' type, that is to say to that class of individuals predominantly muscular and heavy-set in build".

Among classifications derived from psycho-analytic orientations we can mention the one elaborated by Redl who divided his subjects in 7 different types and claimed that "delinquency should also be considered as the consequence of asymmetrical organic development. Thus we have cases where the sexual drive of a child is stronger than his actual means of control, and cases of nevrotic or highly emotionally perturbed children; others still, are dominated by such feelings of aggressiveness that delinquent behaviour almost inevitably ensues" (49).

Because of this wealth of criminogenous factors, there seems to be an increasing number of research workers who assume an "eclectic attitude" in their work. One of the most prominent representatives of modern criminology, Jean Pinatel, who analysed different approaches to problems relating to criminology, isolated a few personality characteristics common to the majority of delinquents. They are: an egocentric nature, an unstable personality, aggressiveness, poor affective relationships leading to indifference. These various characteristics form, through their inter-actions, what he has called "the nucleus of the criminal personality" (50). Environmental factors play a vital role during the phase when the subject actually "decides to act", while *sociological and individual factors* have about equal weight. Even medical doctors and biologists tend more and more to consider environmental factors as having a great importance in case-histories. Dr. Heuyer, for instance, actually considers family and sociological factors as predominant factors in evaluating case-histories, and he also claims that this predominance is largely subject to individual receptivity. According to him: "a

mixture of inborn and acquired characteristics can be found in every child, and every misdemeanour committed depends as much on the exogenous environmental conditions as the endogenous psychological characteristics of the offender. In resuming this theory, Prof. Di Tullio points out that, although he has always considered the importance of individual constitutions as predisposing factors leading to criminal acts, we should also consider that various biological, bio-psychological and sociological conditions can be found in the dynamics of crime (51).

This brings us to the examination of *sociological factors* as etiological factors in criminology. They are the most numerous and the most divergent among all other factors and the only characteristic they share in common is the one brought out by those who maintain that *juvenile delinquency is primarily the end-product of external factors*. While the bio-psychological approach induced scientists to studies of individuals only, the sociological approach, in theory, does not include fixed limits in work undertaken in this field. If we were to give a brief account only, of all that has been written in connection with the so-called "sociological" causative factors in juvenile delinquency, we could easily fill a few volumes. Among causative factors examined in research reports made at the 2nd Congress of Criminology, 15 were picked out by Van Bemmelan as having direct bearing on social and family background. Other research-workers have tried to establish a standard classification as to types (typologie) by grouping these factors according to various categories: economic, ecological, cultural etc. and by making further distinctions through sub-groups and also establishing primary, secondary or tertiary factors. Others still, proceeded to formulate a critical evaluation of etiological theories only to reach the conclusion that nothing is known with certainty in this field. "Everything could be the cause of anything" (Grünhut). It seems relevant to note, however, that partisans of socio-cultural factors implied in crimino-genesis (ecological theories, "cultural conflicts", social disorganization, gang phenomenology, etc.) (52) emphasize those factors which have direct bearing on *the home environment, the neighbourhood, the school, professional training or pastimes*. According to Makarenko's theories (USSR) all these factors should be taken into account, with particular emphasis on unfavourable educative conditions. According to this Soviet educator, it would be sufficient for these young delinquents to be transferred to environments, where life-conditions are normal, to return to normality (53). The American sociologist, Milton C. Barron, came to a similar conclusion in his research-paper significantly entitled: "Youth in delinquent society" (54). We read further: "the prevention of juvenile delinquency... should then imply the modifications of our social structures... It requires that less emphasis should be placed on competition and accumulation of wealth in our scale of values, and more importance given to other values which at this moment are at the bottom of the scale".

Let us now consider some of the philosophical and moral principles implied in the etiology of juvenile delinquency which assume, as Taft claims, that "modern cultures are criminogenous" (55) and that "we have the delinquents we deserve" as Rhodes says (56).

The few examples we have shown so far, illustrating contributions of the human sciences in the field of juvenile criminology, demonstrate that some of the difficulties, among others, facing research in etiology, are mainly questions of methods. This research often becomes dependent on, or subjected to that field of science to which it is connected. Furthermore, it is common knowledge that as soon as a particular method is adopted by a certain group, it tends to become "subjective", while the research worker, consciously or sub-consciously, tends to find in it what he was looking for.

In order to affirm categorically that juvenile delinquency is due to such or such determinating factors, one would have to prove that each time a single factor or group of factors are present, there will be a corresponding crime. This has never been proved and probably never will be. The presence of a factor or a group of factors does not mean that a determined effect inevitably must ensue, nor does the absence of the above factors guarantee that a given person will never commit a crime. These factors can also be subject to different evaluations when one passes from abstract theories to concrete cases. The same factor can have different effects in different environmental conditions, since we must remember that life is dynamic, that it is always in a state of evolution, as are those same factors and human-beings as well.

The positive or negative influence of these factors will depend on the circumstances which will condition the growth of the child as well as his psycho-physical and socio-cultural development.

The contributions of the human sciences, thanks to, or in spite of certain "unilateral" tendencies, have thrown considerable light on *deviating human behaviour patterns* in the same way as light is separated into its various components by a prism.

Clinical criminology tends more and more to make use of various scientific disciplines in the study of individuals and their environment, not only to interpret patterns of behaviour in order to describe them, but to find new methods of treatment and prevention (57). Psycho-medico-social pedagogy, with its penetrating influence on criminology, must concern itself with the investigation of types of treatment corresponding to particular types of delinquents, bring their influence to bear on their social background on minors' rights and penal law in general. This new type of legislation, which is gaining more and more in favour in juvenile delinquent courts, is, among others, a product of the contributions made by the sociological and medico-psychological sciences, and it is to this consideration that we shall now turn.

The contributions of science in the domain of Justice

Along with the evolution of humanitarian and scientific movements, a new school of thought began to emerge in the domain of Justice. The concept of *penal laws regarding minors*, which was based on Roman Law according to which minors were considered as "adults in miniature", differed from others in that it embodied *lighter forms of punishments*.

Ever since the French Revolution, the notion of "discernment" had been introduced in the so-called progressive laws, based on the revised Revolution criminal code of 1781. This was, in effect, a progress for the times: aside from defining punishments according to the nature of the offence and the age of the culprit, it also took the intellectual development of the minor into consideration. The "lack of discernment" made it possible for certain young offenders to be acquitted or benefit from a legal pardon. Others, on the other hand, qualified as "discerning" individuals, had to suffer punishments on the same level as adults, although they might be less severe. As long as sanctions for illicit acts were based on penal laws, no matter who had committed the offence, the only concern of the judge was to inflict just penalties foreseen for a given offence. *As soon as it was understood, through scientific reasoning, that a child who had committed an offence had not ceased to be a child, and as such he had the right to be rehabilitated, re-educational measures as well as preventive measures were adopted to substitute intimidation and repression.*

Legislative reforms concerning minors' rights began in the last century. In Europe, Norwegia passed laws in 1887 and in 1896, entitling "tutelar councils" (Vaergersadet) rather than formal courts of law to pass judgments, adopt protective measures, and assume responsibility for the care and protection of delinquents and children in moral danger as well. All the other nordic countries followed this example while the majority of other countries in the five continents adopted the system based on special juvenile-delinquent courts.

The creation of special jurisdictions for minors (58) was a positive human response to the needs of children and adolescents in need of care and protection in a rapidly evolving society, particularly from the economic and industrial development point of view, with the turmoil that consequently ensues.

The first special court for minors, the Juvenile Delinquent Court, was created in 1899 in Chicago. It was conceived and organized as an autonomous court with relative competence (civil and penal) and appropriate methods of procedure. It was quite distinct from ordinary courts, not only from the organic point of view but also in regards to the court-rooms themselves and personnel involved. *The new legislation, which replaced repression by treatment*, embodied a series of measures in favour of neglected children in need of care and protection or considered "delinquent-prone", included the appointment of new judges or probation officers and the creation of auxiliary services as well.

The creation of juvenile courts soon gained in favour and these were readily adopted by other states in North America. After spreading quickly throughout the United States, the idea gained countries overseas, and became diffused with contagious rapidity. In the few years following its first realization, the idea spread everywhere throughout the world and juvenile courts began to appear under different forms in all the continents (59). Actually, this institution is still in phase of development and quite a long time will probably be necessary before it reaches its final stage. The various countries interested are still drawing inspiration one from the other, thus contributing to its development. Generally speaking one can distinguish three distinct phases in its evolution:

1) *a rudimentary type, actually quite common, whose main characteristic is the lack of specialization. Within the framework of ordinary courts of law, certain judges are appointed in turn to investigate the causes leading to particular juvenile delinquent acts. According to a survey made by the United Nations (60), "specialization, in this case, can be considered empirical. It is obtained by the interplay of rules that fall within the competence of 'ratione personae'. The justiciable subjects contribute to the 'education' of the judge".*

2) *A more evolved phase consists in creating a special section in ordinary courts of law, either called children's court, minors' court, or infants' court-rooms. They still form part of the ordinary court of law but have a certain autonomy and are assisted by the personnel from the auxiliary services specially created for this purpose.*

3) *At a higher level we not only have a special type of jurisdiction but a specialized jurisdiction, autonomous in its range of actions, with qualified personnel, social and medico-psycho-pedagogical services, and a more extensive field of competence in penal or tutelary matters, eventually including both civil and administrative questions. Family courts of this type can be found in America, Canada, and Japan. In Europe one can find courts based on similar principles or having similar tendencies, in Belgium, Spain, France, Italy, the Low Countries, Poland, Portugal, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.*

Thus the competence of these special areas of jurisdiction always tends to become more extensive: either in a vertical sense (in regards to children, adolescents, young adults or adults in the quality of parent or tutor) or in a horizontal sense: both in respect to penal, tutelary or civic considerations concerned with the protection of the family, and in respect to administrative questions as well (in Italy and Switzerland, infractions of laws fall within the competence of juvenile courts). The polyvalent nature of this type of jurisdiction gives magistrates the possibility to intervene whenever a child or an adolescent finds himself in morally dangerous circumstances or disgresses from the norms of a regular life, or if he suffers from physical or psychic disturbances.

A further example can be found in French law, which includes "re-educative assistance for all minors under 21 years of age, whose health, security, morality or education are endangered". Likewise, a law was passed in Belgium in 1965, to guarantee social and legal protection for the young. By way of explanation, Judge Slachmuylder, from Brussels, stated: "the former distinction between children considered as 'victims' and those considered as 'guilty children' has been abolished to be replaced by a tutelary system for the benefit of all minors, delinquent children included".

Formerly, certain types of children considered to be in moral danger (typed as delinquents because of their anti-social behaviour) were considered as belonging to the same group as delinquent children. Today the reverse attitude prevails, delinquent minors being considered as belonging to the same group as minors in moral danger. These courageous or even revolutionary transformations came about through the vital influence of the social and sociological sciences which brought this special type of jurisdiction to be seen in a new light: it became the "crossroads" where different categories of children and their parents, in need of judicial assistance or socio-pedagogical assistance could meet to find solution to their problems. The role of these new judicial centers could serve as preliminary centers or become integrated within the system, but their fundamental function was (using the term in a special sense)

the "defence of the social order", without stifling, at the same time, the voice of the child or the family (61).

Thus these pilot centers promoting a new administration of justice, conceived, as Comblen, a magistrate from Belgium, explained "as the guiding wing of penal law", began to transform other existing laws and change classical juridical orientations by becoming the "guiding wing" of law in general. Roscoe Pound, the famous American jurist, qualified the creation of Juvenile Courts as the greatest progress achieved in the realm of judiciary history since the Magna Charta. Furthermore, Mr. Foyer, the French Minister of Justice, affirmed in 1966, at the 7th Congress of the International Youth Magistrate Association, that "the formulation of new laws in favour of the protection of children and youth in general, has had, among 'somnolent legislations' effects comparable to those of a vulcan or an earthquake. Penal law, civil law, civil procedure as well as penal procedure, all have been affected by this". Their basic aim would no longer be "to render justice" but to work towards Justice based on more personal, protective, educational and preventive measures, in other words a more humane Justice, involving social protection measures within the framework of judiciary structures (these principles were extolled by the movement for "the Defence of the Social Order"). Such was the basic philosophy, in its most progressive aspects, underlying this new interpretation of Justice, from which the special minor's jurisdiction issued as a prototype.

In paying due honour to the pioneers of this movement, Mr. Aydalot, "Procureur près la Cour de Cassation" in Paris, stated during the 7th Congress of the A.I.M.J. () "you have brought new light within our ancient institutions, and given our profession a youthful uplift. You have shown that magistrates, usually known for their qualities as scholars and men of wisdom, must equally show themselves as men of action. You have given our profession an unexpected new dimension, since you have not only limited yourselves to solve conflicts between two defendants but you have been able to give new status to facts or a given juridical situation, building on the ruins of a former state of affairs or of a situation whose origins were rooted in the Law but which had not been able to meet the test of new circumstances... May I say that your work is indeed worthy to be followed as an example".*

Thus, these new patterns in the administration of justice, created for the benefit of children and adolescents, assumed a new "active" role in jurisdiction and brought hope to humanity as a whole.

The Evolution of this Movement is still in Progress

There have been many confrontations of ideas as well as successive orientations in regards to the role and functions of youth magistrates in their new capacities... As for all pioneers, these new magistrates did not find the task an easy one.

"As the 'newly-born' in the judiciary world, he was not welcome either with the affection or protection normally due to the youngest of a community. Still in his 'cradle', he was rewarded by a few amused smiles only, hardly disguising the scepticism behind them or even a light touch of anxiety". These words were pronounced by Mr. Aydalot, by way of explanation for the rather cold and thereby frustrating welcome with which these new ideas were received by most jurists who retained a predilection for the past. He further added: "You represented the future while magistrates today still face great difficulties in their day to day tasks... You came on the scene without predecessors to pave the way; and in similar circumstances judicial authorities could not help showing the same misgivings as porters meeting travellers without luggage!"

Thus this unknown magistrate, with little preparation to carry out his new duties and

(*) A.I.M.J. - Association Internationale des Magistrats de la Jeunesse (International Association of Youth Magistrates). Before 1958 the association was called International Association of Children's Judges.

conditioned by penal procedure intended for adults and therefore inadequate for minors, was called upon to face new problems.

The principle of "*parens patriae*", according to which the State, represented by the magistrate, stood for absent or unworthy parents, served as a basis for the work of the first new magistrates. As father or mother substitutes, they believed their duty lay in restoring parental authority as well as familial atmosphere to the court-room.

One of the first American magistrates, Julian Mack, should be mentioned as one of the first magistrates who favoured this paternalistic attitude. On this particular subject he wrote: "Seated at his table, with the child next to him in such a way that, should the occasion present itself, he may be able to put his arm around the child's neck and bring him closer to him, this magistrate, without losing a small part of his dignity as a magistrate, will find his task lightened" (62).

This informal and extremely elastic procedure made it possible for the majority of juvenile offence-cases to be dealt with in an unofficial manner, that is to say without the intervention of the Law. In this manner, *praetorian law* came to replace *legalism* while remaining the basis for arbitrary cases.

Little by little, a new scientific spirit invaded judicial circles - through the contributions of medicine, psychology and other human sciences. "In no other branch of judicial power, has the influence of science been so keenly felt as in the domain of juvenile jurisdiction". This statement was made by Judge Lasser from Venezuela, who further added: "the magistrate's insight regarding children's problems becomes enriched and acquires depth, when he is in a position to consider them from different aspects: the possibilities of errors of judgment decrease and the function of the judge gains in precision".

This penetrating influence of the human sciences within the realm of legal matters, altered the basic nature of former judiciary functions. As the art of passing judgment became more dependent on scientific premises, "justice took on a more scientific aspect". But the contributions of the human sciences, acclaimed at first because of the new horizons they had opened, were to prove as questionable as the former paternalistic attitude. In fact cases were reported where some magistrates, carried away by their scientific enthusiasm and through contacts with the experts in this field, were ready to cast off all the attributes of judicial power and even contest the very foundations on which Justice rested.

One could have been led to believe that they were on the very verge of giving up their vocation as magistrates and exchange it for that of the amateur psycho-social educator. Judge Chazal, who spoke on this subject, recalled the times when some were in favour of putting all judicial questions in the hands of experts and other times still when "certain circles aspired to turn children's magistrates into some sort of super-technicians, better versed in psychology than psychologists themselves, in sociology than the sociologists, in pedagogy than the pedagogists, who could then impose their views on everyone concerned".

Following this line of thought, Doctor H. Lou came to express the hope that "the day will come when we can do without judicial procedure, and avail ourselves only of the medical, psychological, psycho-analytical and social techniques in the treatment of delinquent-prone children who often prove to be little else than difficult children" (62).

And so this new magistrate, whose early formation was based on repressive (or tutelary) laws, who was imbued with a new mission based on "*parens patriae*" principles, influenced by methods and techniques used in social work (case-work, namely) and by various doctrines (such Freudism or the movement for the Defence of the Social Order) could not very well distinguish his true functions.

Some magistrates rejoiced over the fact that children's magistrates had "finally come out of their ivory tower and mixed with their fellow-men, becoming likewise men of action" (Cotxet de Andreis). Others affirmed that youth magistrates should be young in spirit, devoted to their work, broad-minded and profoundly humane, and should feel more attracted by the realities of life than by the judicial techniques of their profession (63). According to Rose, an American magistrate, "society expects a great deal

more from juvenile court magistrates than the Law actually prescribes. It expects him to be a guide for parents and children, to participate in evaluating the needs of the community and to take his due place among the leaders of the community, as part of his mandate" (64).

Other jurists share the opinion that juvenile court magistrates should limit their activities to those concerning cases actually brought before the court. Their principal role should be to instill respect for the Law and to act as arbitrators in conflicts; the rest need not concern them. According to Judge Chazal, "they have no right to assume other functions than those which concern directly their mission", adding further: "children's magistrates already have enough to do by dealing with all the conflicts brought them" (65). Mr. Aydalot, whom I have already mentioned, also stated: "as long as conflict is not involved, the child who is in a difficult situation already has natural protectors — his parents — who have the sacred duty to protect him. Pre-conflict cases should be dealt with through preventive social welfare measures. Only in post-conflict cases should judicial preventive measures come into play".

It is of vital importance to make a distinction between these two fields of prevention. In fact, protective and social educative measures fall within the range of activities attached to social workers or other specialists (medical doctors, psychologists, pedagogues) who should apply to judicial intervention only in contentious cases. Youth and family-courts cannot and must not be transformed into social-welfare courts or in medico-psycho-pedagogical centers, nor lose their judicial character. Actually, we can note a tendency to give back the courts their original function as courts of arbitration and at the same time create social services, which refer certain cases to the judge only when all other means have failed. But whether he is a Juvenile Court Magistrate, a Family-Court Magistrate, a Jugendrichter, or a Giudice del Tribunale per i Minorenni, these specially created magistrates cannot and must not act as simple arbitrators nor become entirely committed: their role no longer consists in merely resolving conflicts but in assuming responsibility in regards to familial and socio-educative relationships (66).

After the first tentative efforts of early pioneers and their successors in this field, certain attitudes, mainly: "paternalistic", "charitable", "super-technical", or "authoritarian" began to evolve towards a synthesis which is still in "statu nascendi" today. Having emerged from these discussions and evolutions, youth magistrates, as we see them at work today, (since no human institution can really reach a definite stage of development) are in effect youth and family magistrates - specialists in their own field - working together with other specialists as a team (doctors, pedagogues, psychologists, educators or social workers). These magistrates, called upon to protect the young and their families, must necessarily assume socio-educative and protective functions within the framework of existing laws and legal authority. The human sciences are brought into play either directly, through personal intervention, in judicial decisions (hear and try cases in court, cross-examine or make orders in regards to offenders) or indirectly through the scientific experts' services in connection with a case. The magistrate then becomes the "masterplanner" along general lines, the "strategist", in other words, while all the other specialists who collaborate with him, complete the plan by filling the details and execute them, assuming the role of "tacticians" (as reported by the recording-judge at the 5th Congress of the A.I.M.J. in 1958). As one of the conclusions drawn at the end of the Congress, the definition of the role of youth magistrates was put in these terms: "the main responsibility of youth magistrates is to establish, direct and if necessary modify individual methods of treatment in regards to minors placed under their jurisdiction".

Judge Cotxet de Andreis used to say: "in his capacity as youth magistrate, this judge presiding in a Juvenile Court contemplates both sides of the question: the legal side which is not accessible to the scientific and the scientific side, steeped as he is in its very atmosphere".

This unity of action achieved by specialists in this field under the auspices of the judicial magistrate, constitutes a solid guarantee against arbitrary decisions, decreases possibilities of errors, and insures that the rights of the individual, of the family and

society in general will be respected. These observations may be used as arguments in favour of the special court system as against systems based on socio-administrative committees or commissions.

Elaboration and differentiation of new rules of procedure

In order to arrive at a true evaluation of the socio-educative procedure as applied to minors, it is necessary to examine its successive phases more closely: preliminary inquiry, passing a sentence (making an order in the case of minors) and execution of the sentence, to use official terminology. This in ordinary language means collecting information, arriving at a decision, and deciding the suitable method of treatment. In most countries the Law entitles youth magistrates to remain in charge of the entire procedure. This global competence truly embodies a personalized, individualized educative Justice. *The child and his problem constitute a whole* which cannot and must not be shared or divided between various authorities (police, prosecutors, examining magistrates, trial judges who pass judgment or inflict penalties) during the different phases of legal procedure. Furthermore, a magistrate who meets an offender for the first time cannot know him very well and sometimes does not know him at all. Finally, *all the legal proceedings can be carried out more quickly and more efficiently* if performed by the same magistrate. *In this way the heavy and slow pace of legal procedure* may be avoided, proceedings which might prove very harmful for children and adolescents who live in the future and for whom yesterday already forms part of the past.

From the moment the magistrate intervenes in a case, his thoughts begin to dwell on the fate of the child or adolescent facing him, and he begins to ask himself several questions. But it will not be the usual ritual questions (who, when, where, how) which will occupy the time and attention of the youth magistrate, but one will stand out in particular: Why? Why does he behave like this? Who is he? How does he live? Who are his parents? What can be done to help them? From all this one can easily deduce that the aim of judicial protection should not be to remove a child or a young person from his home environment but that the constant preoccupation of the youth magistrate should be: "How can we find ways to allow this young person to remain within his family circle and assure ourselves that this will not have detrimental effects on his future conduct?" (67).

Naturally if the child has stolen a bicycle, the judge must know if he has actually stolen it, and if this proves to be true - when, how, and with whom he has committed the offence. But, as Judge Lindsay pointed out so well "what matters to society is not the fate of the bicycle but the fate of the child". Granting that certain indispensable rules of procedure must be followed during preliminary inquiries such as: establishing the unlawful nature of the act, collecting evidence, avoiding erroneous or arbitrary judgments, qualifying the act under its proper legal aspect - the task, then, of the juvenile-court magistrate consists primarily in conciliating all the various aspects of the question: legal on the one hand and psycho-socio-educative on the other hand. Depending on the particular nature of the case before him the magistrate may initiate his work by delving into the history of the case to find the underlying causes and ask a social worker to *make enquiries as to the social background of the subject*. More and more frequently this important work has come to be entrusted to social workers who have become specialists in the field and sometimes form part of groups known as "Legal Social Services" (68). Through visits to various places where the minor normally spends his time, the social worker can then report "on the social and psychological air he breathes" (to use an expression coined by Judge Allaer). By gathering information from his parents, the school he attends, the place where he works, social workers become "antennas", or "receptive mediums" for this "lifesaving" venture about to be undertaken by the Youth Court.

It may happen that investigation made in the social background of the subject should reveal serious affective or educative deficiencies, or that little good-will is shown on the part of the mother or the father. In this case the child must be transferred elsewhere, and this the judge must do without delay. In the event that the child should have other brothers or sisters, the judge will act likewise towards them or instigate a similar procedure, if he is not entitled to do it himself. All this clearly

demonstrates how important it becomes for the judge to be properly informed. Generally speaking, one might say that no matter what laws and their practical applications may be like, a *profound understanding of the child and of his environment* must become the *keystone of judicial intervention* specially in those cases where treatment is necessary. To act otherwise would be to act without "discernment", which may be tolerated in a minor and condoned in his case, but not in the case of the judge. The human sciences and related techniques which are continually being perfected, cannot be ignored or set aside when the future of a child is at stake, a child who is potentially "a future citizen" and as such will evolve within the socio-protective organs of his community, and who, should he become anti-social, will remain the object of these same socio-protective organs (Caloyanni).

The magistrate, therefore, who assumes full responsibility for this child and who must also keep pace with progress in his field, must often resort to the *specialists in various related scientific fields*. In fact, according to Mr. Michard, another magistrate, magistrates tend less and less to call upon individual specialists in favour of teams of workers (69). The study of the minor and his environment, which can only be summary in courts where the auxiliary services are not integrated within the system, can then become the subject of medico-psycho-pedagogical, social or criminological research, wherever studies in these fields are more advanced.

In certain cases, clinical or extra-clinical observations should be carried on over a long period of time, and if this is done in an institution equipped for this work, this may already be considered as part of the method of treatment. The other so-called *provisional measures* (probation, committal to the care of a fit person, committal to a detention center) must have one aim in common — *that of rehabilitating the young offender*. In other words the treatment of a young offender should begin from the time he is brought in front of the magistrate by the police officer.

At this point it may be appropriate to mention that police intervention has also evolved considerably. In collaboration with juvenile-court magistrates, their intervention has become socio-educative and preventive whenever possible. The human sciences have influenced police circles as well, to the extent that they have promoted juvenile delinquency research, as shown by reports made by the Interpol Agency. The creation of "*Minors' Brigades*" and *Police Social Workers* emphasizes the ever growing socio-preventive action of the police force. The International Criminal Association is making bold attempts at finding new solutions for the future (70).

It is not possible to describe here all the methods of approach actually adopted by the most progressive legal authorities. They have become, moreover, the subject of many books published recently. I should like to point out, however, that during the preparatory phase (known as preliminary or pre-sentence inquiry) of a case, the magistrate has not opened his code-book a single time, knowing by heart, as he does, those articles which are most frequently of use to him. But he has read and re-read the police records as well as reports written by social workers and other specialists whom he has consulted, and he has had long talks with the minor and his parents. He has now acquired intimate knowledge of the case, through what Judge Martaguet called "the reconstruction of the case during proceedings by the judge alone" (*déclouonnement de la procédure*).

The magistrate involved, however, in order to become a real "master of procedure", must be very well prepared for this task. The problem as to his "formation" has now become fundamental and cannot be omitted when talking about the contributions of the human sciences in this field. The necessity for this "special formation" of youth magistrates becomes evident particularly during the preliminary phases of the case when socio-medical-psychological factors already come into play. In spite of many efforts made in this domain, a true solution has not yet been found (71). It can be noted that a certain progress has been made in the right direction. Even though they might not be considered as true scientific methods, *interviews* have been found to answer a great need.

If one is to be objective, one must recognize the fact that if many judges know how to talk to children few of them are capable of talking with children and rarer still are those who manage to make children talk and inspire them to "say everything", to confide in them. For children, even more so than in the case of adults, "hardly ever know what they actually know" (Gross).

Thus the interrogation evolved into a hearing, "from the hearing an interview can follow, and the interview can lead to a dialogue" Judge Fedou concluded. This dialogue can attenuate anxiety and aggressiveness in a subject brought before a court of law, and give him the possibility to communicate with a world which he, too often, considers as hostile. These words were pronounced by Judge Slachmuylder who further added: "This form of dialogue is a positive social contact, that is an apprenticeship in establishing scales of values" (72). The contact: judge and subject to be judged, which has become a reality in juvenile-court, can well serve as a model for other examining judges.

Another example of procedure adopted through the influence of psychology can be cited here: *summons*. Instead of applying to various printed formulas which could provoke different reactions, certain judges actually summon minors and their parents by means of a letter using qualified but discreet wording and enclosed in an ordinary envelope. This is the first step in creating a psychologically favourable climate in view of the coming interview. The interested parties seldom fail to understand that this letter actually has the value of a legal document. They seem to realize and appreciate the discretion implied in the magistrate's action and that this has been done in the interest of the minor so as not to jeopardize his future.

The following letter written by Mr. Synvet, a French magistrate, can serve to illustrate this point:

To Mr.

I beg to inform you that I have been appointed preliminary-examiner in the case concerning... accused of committing... I have instructed a social worker to get in touch with you in order to ask you information regarding your child. I should be most grateful if you would kindly receive her.

I must also inform you that you are entitled, by law, if you so desire, to retain a lawyer of your own choice or to ask me to have one appointed by the Court. Before taking a decision regarding... you will be summoned to appear before me. I should like you to acknowledge receipt of this letter by return post, mentioning the day or days you and your child might be free. Please take note that no return stamp is necessary on the envelope. In view of the fact that you are personally responsible for damages caused by your child, I think it fit to advise you to try and come to a friendly settlement with... if possible.

According to the author, replies to this type of letter have always duly arrived (73). Youth magistrates, conscious of their mission, will not neglect other considerations and will even go to the extent of controlling that court-rooms should be suitably appointed, waiting-rooms should be provided with educative reading-material and that the furniture in their own Chambers should contribute to the creation of a favourable atmosphere. Once the preliminary phase is over the magistrate may dismiss the case as subject to nonsuit or pass a sentence himself in the quality of sole judge, or else submit the case to a council. This brings us to another phase of legal procedure.

Judicial Decisions

It may seem quite evident that the mission of a judge is to judge. But while traditional judges — according to Chief Magistrate Fedou — "consider their judging capacities to be at their best, the less they know about a case" (hence the separation of preliminary inquiries and actual judgment) "juvenile-court magistrates estimate that the more they know the more capable they will be as judges" (74).

Certifying that an indictable offence has been committed or passing a sentence are relatively simpler functions than those implied in the re-education, re-habilitation or re-socialization of a human being. The juvenile-court magistrate, while giving due credit to the contributions made by his collaborators "cannot ratify in a pure and simple manner the conclusions submitted to him by the experts he nominated, since he knows only too well how precarious the human sciences can turn out to be (experts included)", according to Judge Allaer (75). On the other hand youth magistrates must consider problem children not only as isolated individuals, living within their

individual environment only, but as members of a community and society in general, with determined scales of values. The problem of the injured party cannot of course be omitted. It might be observed that protection of minors, which is always the first preoccupation of a magistrate, does not always entail the protection of the community, nor the protection of certain members in particular (the injured parties) nor the protection of society in general (76). Furthermore, there are problems which because of their complexity cannot be considered within the sphere of psycho-social factors alone and therefore necessitate the intervention of Law as a legal science based on peremptory judicial decrees.

Court-hearings are, and have always been considered as one of the principal phases of judicial intervention. But it soon became clear to the creators of juvenile-courts that the solemn ritual of the debates which took place in austere court-rooms, which at times could reach theatrical effects, was not suitable for proceedings dealing with children and adolescents. It then seemed necessary to modify judicial proceedings in view of the objects to attain and change the general atmosphere itself so that it would no longer appear as an "icy ceremony". Thus, youth magistrates worked towards creating a new ambience in which hearing sessions could be held. Today this is known as *hearings in Chambers*.

Mr. Wets, the first youth magistrate in Belgium, stated: "it is easier to convince, to reach the heart of a subject within the isolated atmosphere of a modest room...". In fact, the *educative and social aspect of judicial intervention* best reveals itself through the adoption of hearings in Chambers. The initial approach of the magistrate is similar to that of a doctor searching for a diagnosis or establishing a prognosis before he orders relative treatment. In certain circles, the expression "judicial therapy" has already been proposed. But as Chief-Magistrate Fedou explains: "We are dealing here with a *specific action*, which is not incumbent on the doctor, nor on the psychologist, nor on the educator but which rests solely with the magistrate. It is not based on general therapeutic or individual treatment perspectives, nor on the legitimate concern of the magistrate for the welfare of the child and his parents alone. The basis for the personal intervention of the magistrate is directly linked with his *statutory mandate regarding family stability and its social re-adaptation*. In other words, this means that magistrates must awaken children and parents to become conscious of their personal responsibilities, which they often totally ignore, and of the irreplaceable role of the family. At the same time they must educate the young subject to arrive at a true evaluation of himself not only on a personal basis but in relationship to his social contacts with friends and society in general" (77).

The fact that Juvenile Court Magistrates seem to prefer hearings in Chambers does not mean that they would be inclined to eliminate *court-hearings*. The latter are reserved for more serious matters: crimes, misdemeanours committed in groups, multi-recidivist cases etc. But even in the case of court-hearings where magistrates sit at a bench, public debates are replaced by hearings "in camera" i.e. with the public and the press excluded from the seat of the trial. Many judges favour court-sittings outside the court-house and avoid wearing their robes or speaking from a podium or assuming solemn or haughty attitudes. They endeavour, on the other hand, to adopt a style comprehensible to all present, avoiding the use of technical terms whenever possible. This procedure, shorn of all formalism, makes it possible for the hearing to proceed in a psychologically more favourable climate.

In contrast with traditional procedure according to which "the living are judged by the dead", as Mr. Versele once said, pointing out that today "penal codes still embody the false values which were valid for past generations" (78) hearings in Juvenile Courts are destined not so much to function as instruments of sanction for the past but to prepare the future of the minor by allowing him to participate in the debates involved. This aim is easier to achieve if the judge and the "judged" are not separated by distance or height, nor hindered by the presence of the public, which can all contribute to bring a dialogue to an abortive conclusion. For the boy or girl who have erred, this hearing must become a moment in their life when we can say to him or her, in Judge Moëne's words: "our present concern is what you are going to do in the future... You therefore have nothing to lose and all possibilities are still open to you..." The minor must always leave the court-room with hope in his heart and the

conviction that he can and must do better (79). The objection has been advanced, and rightly too, that these considerations of a psycho-pedagogical nature, may be justifiable in the case of children and adolescents, but do not apply to the older subjects. It is evident that in the case of obdurate young people a rather severe approach is more appropriate since it may serve as a salutary shock. Here again a certain elasticity is needed.

The seat of hearing, having been shorn of all "sacred and ritualistic elements", has now become suitable to receive minors who will be allowed to discuss, aside from the facts involved in their illicit act, facts concerning their home background, their home-life standards, their school life or professional training, their pastimes and plans for the future etc... When the prosecutor intervenes, as this sometimes occurs in some countries and never at all in others, it is advisable that the accused should be assisted by a lawyer, either of his own choice or appointed by the court. It is customary, however, for the minor to be sent away while the barrister pleads the case. Judges, in some cases, can point out with pride that "there was no prosecutor to accuse, nor barrister to plead the case, since no one present was there to accuse the minor nor condemn him, nor impose penalties as repressive measures" (quoted from the works of the Spanish Judge Ybarra y Berge). *The court must then decide upon those measures which seem to be the most appropriate in relation to the case and endeavour to make the child and his parents accept the decision taken. The ways in which these measures may be put into practice, may be discussed with the minor and his parents since their collaboration in the treatment is the best guarantee of success.*

This humanization of court-hearings has brought about what we might call the "concerted" sentence (Martaguet) and this may be directly attributed to the psycho-social orientation of youth-magistrates. As educator as well as magistrate, being called upon to enforce educative measures, this new judge has helped to create what is known as praetorian procedure, which allows for the *participation of the condemned in the elaboration of the judge's sentence*, pronounced in view of the welfare of the accused rather than against the accused. Another way of expressing this would be to say that "the condemned" participates in his own "condemnation". As paradoxical as it may sound, this procedure should be considered as a totally new concept in psycho-social Justice. It is adopted to make minors fully aware of their responsibilities and to make them *accept the necessity of modifying their behaviour*. In this way, an individual convicted for an offence but who is willing to change his way of life and accepts to carry out actions beneficial to society, will compensate through good actions for the evil he has caused. Prof. Schultz, who cited these words also added: "and it may very well come to pass that penal Law, this terrible instrument of social restraint, may become more humane and efficacious through continued efforts along these lines." (80).

We have thus established that the *decision of the magistrate* although issuing from multi-disciplinary interventions, can be said to be an act of *judicial authority*, elaborated with the consent of the accused, symbolic of Justice in the future. This sentence, or order in the case of minors, *prescribing the method of treatment suitable for the juvenile delinquent involved, can be modified at all times*. It does not constitute a "res judicata", something judged once and for all, but something flexible which can and must be modifiable during the course of the trial. This characteristic, in my opinion, stands out as the clearest evidence of the contributions of the human sciences in the domain of Justice, where the "res judicata" principle, inherited from Roman Law, was considered and is still considered as an almost absolute rule.

A juvenile-court magistrate's decision therefore, is not the "epilogue" of the magistrate's mission, but merely the "prologue", a starting point for the *treatment prescribed* in which the magistrate becomes involved personally, in the same way as a doctor becomes involved in a patient's recovery. In the majority of countries, *juvenile court magistrates are in complete charge of the method of treatment and in their capacities as supervisors may modify or end it at their discretion*. For this reason no fixed time limit is usually set as to the re-educative period assigned, but it remains indefinite, free to be modified according to the evolution of the case. These characteristics, which distinguish Law in regards to minors from traditional Law, add new responsibilities to the magistrates' mission, they *inevitably become personally involved* in the case

and must continue to take an active interest in the case until the end of the treatment period.

What then, in the final analysis, do these methods of treatment consist of? Let us now turn to them briefly.

Measures to be adopted or Methods of Treatment

In modern legal systems, a wide range of educative, re-educative, punitive or disciplinary measures are adopted, and in some countries no penalties are foreseen in regards to minors (the 1912 law in Belgium, the 1932 penal code in Poland, the 1962 law in Portugal). The laws of other countries provide for penalties applicable to older minors (over 15 or 16 years of age, for instance) specially in regards to subjects who prove refractory to the educative measures already prescribed. Others provide for penalties "sui generis" — special types of punishments for juvenile delinquents — or combine them with educative measures. Depriving a subject of liberty, is rarely used as a form of punishment in the case of minors, and in cases where it has been adopted, there has been a definite improvement in methods of detention, although the progress made in this field may seem somewhat slow. We might even go so far as to say that progress seems far from satisfactory. Fortunately the number of cases where repressive measures need to be enforced has not been excessive. This happens only in cases where all other means of rehabilitation of the minor have failed, or sometimes in cases of violation of road safety regulations.

In order to have a more global view of all the possibilities now available to juvenile-delinquent courts, through newly elaborated legal codes, I have divided them in five categories (see Appendix). Such a division, may no doubt appear artificial at first or even arbitrary. It does not pretend to correspond to the various legislative systems nor to the motives which inspired them. This over-all picture of judicial or juridical procedure (and I have merely touched upon the subject) could lead the lay-man to think that the wide and varied range of available means might constitute "remedies for all evils".

Actually, we might well share Judge Slachmuylder's opinion when he wrote: "when a magistrate sits in a juvenile delinquent court, he is first of all struck by the wealth of investigations and observations made during proceedings — and during the method of treatment as well — which is then submitted to the court, and on the other hand the poverty and imperfection of means available to adult-courts" (81).

At times, this wealth exists only in theory; youth-magistrates, almost everywhere, complain about the "lack of means at their disposal, both in regards to material and personnel available". The combined efforts of the social and scientific endeavours in this field, which are becoming more and more evident in judicial circles, inevitably come up against unforeseen obstacles, and for the moment, the complete re-habilitation of children and their families still remains within the realm of utopian dreams. If this were not so, juvenile delinquency and adult delinquency as well, would now form part of past history!

Generally speaking, the contributions of the human sciences in the methods of treatment of juvenile delinquents, are far from being adequate. The teams of specialists, granted they exist and collaborate with the court, often play a marginal role only, that of "experts" and nothing more. They are most often called upon to examine a case the judge might put before them, but do not, unless in exceptional cases, participate in the method of treatment agreed upon. As a result, their contribution, so valuable during the examination phase of the case and while the decision is taken (phases during which these experts become personally involved), is not considered during the "execution" phase of the case, which still remains, in my opinion, the principal phase of the trial, the keystone of judicial intervention. And it is during this very decisive phase of the case that the contact between magistrates and experts weakens, or becomes intermittent, or sometimes ceases to exist. It is notably exceptional for the same "expert" (whether he is a doctor, psychologist, psychiatrist, pedagogue or social-worker) who previously took part (alone or in a team) in the diagnosis and suitable method of treatment of a case, to take an active part in the latter.

All the educative measures provided for by Law, whether carried out under the probation system or in institutions, are, in principle, entrusted to other individuals: parole officers, members of a family in an "appointed" home, educators etc. These persons are generally too few in number, insufficiently prepared in many cases, badly paid in most cases and without great possibilities for professional advancement. Moreover, the social prestige which accompanies professions related to the sociological sciences is still quite modest. It is not therefore surprising at all that, in some cases, only mediocre results have been achieved.

For instance, in cases where probation has been chosen as the measure to be adopted and it is carried out under unfavourable conditions (as in the case of overworked social workers with dozens of cases on their hands) — its educative value for the minor and his family is very much reduced if not nihil. In cases where this method of treatment has proved successful, one can usually find that the subjects involved could be qualified as little more than maladjusted individuals. Other groups can be successfully treated in this way, thanks to their natural gradual evolution towards social maturity. Unfortunately, this apparent maturity at times reveals itself to be only partial or incomplete — which accounts for a number of so-called "immature adults", as some psychologists have labelled them. This may also very well be the underlying cause leading to recidivism, in which case these subjects must be committed to Institutions.

The committal of juvenile delinquents to institutions as a method of treatment, cannot be said to have derived great benefits from the contributions of the human sciences as other branches of Justice have done. At times, it may happen that one of the experts connected with the court (neuro-psychiatrists, or psychologists in most cases) should be called upon to collaborate in a case, but he may only be able to devote a few hours a week, or even a month (unless he has been engaged on a half-time basis, a rare possibility, or on a full-time basis which is rarer still). There are establishments — but this is an exception rather than the rule — where a team of specialists in various disciplines work together in the treatment of minors suffering from personality or behaviour disturbances, and who can usually be found in rather large numbers in re-education homes. In these institutions, the criminologist may appear occasionally as a guest (on the occasion of a visit organized during a Congress, for instance) or as a research-worker bent on studying case-histories or actual cases, but never as a person "who becomes involved in the great 'adventure' of re-educating the young".

Logically speaking, it should seem evident that it is *precisely in this very domain — methods of treatment* — carried out either in closed institutions or in regards to minors released on licence, that specialists concerned with the problems of juvenile delinquency, must be allowed to play an active part. They should continually be involved in *research work directly connected with the methods of treatment*. This applies to the technique-specialists in particular, who are called upon to examine minors who have been inculpated of an offence. The conclusions they draw, or even more so the suggestions they make for suitable treatment, can be said to have the same value as a blank check, if they are not given the opportunity to take part in the concrete application of the re-habilitating measures agreed upon, a difficult process where the slightest error can lead to irremediable consequences.

The *application of new discoveries* in the human sciences to the methods of treatment relating to juvenile delinquents, requires a *re-elaboration of methods and techniques* along more special lines which will also take into consideration the ends they are meant to serve. In the case of both methods and techniques which have been borrowed from various disciplines, they must be *modified to suit the needs of criminology* if they are ever to attain the aims set forth by policies in this field. Specialists in the human sciences must become technicians in the field of criminology, if they are destined to become involved in methods of treatment. No longer bound to work in the silent privacy of their offices or laboratories — *in vitro* — but *in vivo*, they will be compelled to find solutions to problems which so far have not been solved. Their role will be to confront theories and the ways in which they can be applied. The magistrate, who no longer plays a predominant role in this phase of the case, should intervene only in the event he must sanction a particular method of treatment juridically. By working together on

a case "in concreto" and applying knowledge derived from both the legal and human sciences, magistrates and their collaborators actually contribute to the re-adaptation process of those subjects normally considered as "maladjusted individuals" rather than true delinquents. This is possible through the application of measures usually adopted in ordinary re-education treatments, based on discipline and work (scholastic or professional training) and mitigated by organized pastimes. Unfortunately, these methods of treatment are not adequate in the treatment of problem cases (multi-recidivists or in the case of individuals with severe disturbances).

Several experiments have been carried on here and there: dividing inmates into small groups, the application of group therapy by qualified therapists, or group-work techniques supervised by educators (providing they are carefully selected, trained and under the guidance of psychiatrists specially trained in this work). These are only a few examples of improved methods available in rehabilitating work. But since these means actually are still quite limited, it is only possible to re-educate a small number of subjects among all those who are in need of such methods of treatment. Another type of experimental work, known as case-work, has also been carried out in connection with subjects released on licence (82). Short-term treatment, known as "sharp, shock, short", is actually practiced in English detention centers. The method of therapy known as "non-directive therapy", first used by Aichhorn in Vienna, has been put into practice in the U.S.A. (Redl). Intensive and short-term treatments (Highfield, Sommerfield etc.), the "Citizenship Training Program" in Boston, the "Special Treatment Program" in Boscoville, Canada, or again the "Para-Military Regime" inspired by Makarenko in Eastern countries, are all examples of experimental methods of treatment in the field of juvenile rehabilitation. Countless other attempts have been undertaken, but not a single method or technique has yet gained credence over the others nor become generally known.

It is absolutely necessary that experimental work concerning various types of methods of treatment suitable for various types of juvenile delinquents should be carried out on a permanent basis, and an evaluation made of the results obtained, in relation to the scientific or practical method adopted. To achieve progress in this field, scientific theory and practical applications must go hand in hand, and to achieve maximum efficiency a close collaboration must be established between the two. The principle: to educate rather than punish, has inspired a wide, diversified and gradual range of measures. No time limit has been set as to their duration, allowing the treatment to continue as long as it is necessary. Youth magistrates who applied to the specialists, such as pedit-psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists, criminologists, ask nothing more than to work in collaboration with them until the very end. Generally speaking, youth magistrates and all the collaborators who have become involved in this work, have expressed the firm conviction that they "are on the right path" and the hope that they may be able to continue progressing in their work in order to achieve the best possible results.

What are these results?

Youth magistrates have observed that juvenile delinquency of a real and alarming nature, seems to be regressing and that today it consists mainly of misdemeanours rather than criminal offences (83). The president of the Childrens' Court of the Seine Region in France affirms that "three quarters of the minors who could be qualified as delinquents in France, commit offences which are purely occasional" meaning that "for one minor in four, the method of treatment adopted after the preliminary inquiry will consist of appropriate measures in favour of the social re-habilitation of the child" (84). The same proportions have been found in the majority of the so-called developed countries, according to the conclusions drawn at the end of a survey made by the International Association of Youth Magistrates (AIMJ) in 1966, on the occasion of its 7th Congress.

But in spite of these encouraging observations, juvenile delinquency still remains a social plague, and the global number of delinquent minors, which is continually rising, exceeds demographic increase in general. This phenomenon clearly shows that in the field of prevention more remains to be done than has already been done until now.

While we are still dealing with the subject of methods of treatment it is important to recall that numerous problems relating to multi-recidivist offenders, have not yet been solved "those for whom no illuminating spark has yet been struck". They, however, constitute but a small fraction among the mass of delinquent minors brought to court. If we examine the statistics elaborated by some forty countries that sent in answers to the questionnaire put to them by the A.I.M.J. in 1966, we can see that the recidivism rate has been calculated as about 30%, although several European countries, mainly Belgium, France, Holland, Hungary, Italy, certain "cantons" in Switzerland, and the Popular Democracies, have a lower percentage of persistent young offenders.

But the important fact that stands out when we examine data relative to "successes" and "failures" is that we tend too often to compare "eggs to apples" (Ketcham). There is no such thing as a common denominator in judging "successes" and "failures" nor a formula which can apply to both juvenile delinquency and recidivism. Besides we cannot consider the actual statistics as final since they are incomplete and often based on criteria which differ from one country to another.

We must then abandon the idea of even arriving at an approximate quantitative evaluation of the problem. We can, however, note that a small minority among juvenile delinquents do not benefit from the usual methods of treatment available, and are therefore creating a problem which the most scholarly theorists and the most experienced practitioners as well have been unable to resolve so far.

These young delinquents "should no longer be considered as minors in danger but as dangerous minors" (85). We are still faced with problems of re-education relating to this particular type of juvenile delinquents suffering from various types of behaviour disturbances: severely disturbed personalities or actual psychopath individuals, sociopaths or generally maladjusted subjects. These subjects are eventually transferred to institutions at a time when, in the case of adults, there seems to be a general tendency to favour penalties which do not curtail individual freedom. Consequently, these children who have shown no improvement under the care of the specialists in charge, are put in the care of prison wardens! But can we even be sure that the people in charge of young delinquents in re-educative homes were really "specialists?" Do we really have properly trained specialists in the field of criminology? If the answer is "no", then all efforts should be dedicated to fill these important gaps in our judicial system, for these gaps really exist and they merit all our attention. Prof. Di Tullio once stated: "Experts in clinical criminology affirm that, for each individual convicted of an offence, it is always possible to find a method of treatment capable of restoring a certain psychic equilibrium in the subject, a first requisite if we are to achieve continuous progress in his re-adaptation to the demands made by our moral code" (86). These encouraging words bring us to examine, at this point, the current ideas which have emerged from scientific and practical investigations made in this field, in the hope of finding possibilities of re-habilitation for the most desperate cases.

The steps which have led to a new conception of methods of treatment

Today we may safely affirm that the transition between repressive and re-habilitative measures in the treatment of juvenile delinquents has reached its last stages. This concept, as it reached the four corners of the earth, was adopted in most modern legislations, and has been put into practice more and more frequently. The contributions of the human sciences in its evolution cannot be contested. After following the evolution of these contributions we have now reached the stage when we can claim that "committed" research must work towards concrete applications; it must find its justification in and through applications and adhere to an orientation based on real needs. This opinion was expressed by Mr. Ceccaldi in the report he read for the 1962 seminar sponsored by the O.N.U. in Frascati, where he stated: "a true dialectic process must be established between research and action" (87).

At about the same time, the last two congresses of the A.I.M.J. (1962 in Naples and 1966 in Paris) attempted to determine the scope of the *active role* expected of youth magistrates and of their collaborators in the treatment of young delinquents. In their new role, they are not only expected to remain constantly abreast of progress in the

human sciences (easily demonstrated since the early development of juvenile courts) but they are also expected to adopt a new style in regards to methods of intervention: to evaluate constantly the contributions of the human sciences in relationship to methods of treatment in the case of minors, and their actual practice. In brief they must endeavour to establish a daily "dialectic" collaboration between scientific theories and their practical applications, so that the cross-fertilization of ideas may benefit both sides of the question.

Similar tendencies have been recently noted in the field of criminology. After the initial stages (of which I have rapidly traced the evolution by recalling the etiological research carried on in this field) the practical development of criminology is now subordinated to a new approach. It switches from abstract studies to practical applications and vice-versa without restrictions which might result in a "short-circuit process". On the contrary, ideas flow from criminology studies to the human sciences and from the human sciences to the legal sciences (88).

Following the same line of thought, the European Committee for Criminal Problems, connected with the European Council, pointed out that "a certain inter-dependence can be said to exist between social administrators (legislators, higher State officials, magistrates, prosecutors, police officers etc.) and research-workers... who must find ways to collaborate even if they do not desire to do so" (Cornil's Report, p. 36). Lately, the studies made by this committee have dealt with problems which are of particular interest to us: the relationship between different types of juvenile delinquents and relative methods of treatment (1967). "The elaboration of new methods of treatment in connection with special categories of delinquent" Mr. Sparks (Britain) concluded, "may prove to be the most promising field of study among the many undertaken so far".

As a matter of fact, the great majority of scientific contributions in etiological studies of juvenile delinquency did not consider the practical aspect of the question, and consequently, today they are considered only for their historical value. The accumulation of scientific knowledge in this domain has reached such proportions that we may well ask ourselves, using Mr. Huchons's words "if this collection of rough ideas is not momentarily coming to an end" (89). Similarly, Messrs Blanc and Susini underline: "the general tendency in the human sciences is to try to determine if a particular line of action is useful" (90), while Dr. Börjeson, in Sweden, proposes new methods of work based on cybernetics. The main concept of this system is known as "feed-back" or the carrying back of some of the effects of some process to its source or preceding stage. While participating in the treatment, the "active research-worker" modifies his methods whenever necessary, while evaluating the treatment at the same time.

This new orientation which has been noted in judiciary and scientific domains could be of great benefit to humanity in general. It is perhaps too early to predict what ways it will evolve, but we can claim that it is progressing continually, and that youth magistrates and their collaborators, as well as other magistrates and the social services involved in the treatment of juvenile delinquents, are all working along the same lines. Youth Magistrates have always followed this line of thought right from the beginning. In this connection, it might be well to recall the first studies made by Dr. Healy in the USA and the decisive role Judge Wets played in the reforms carried out in Belgium (1912) along with the Minister of Justice, Carton de Wiart and the scientist, Prof. Prins. Today, the same inter-functional collaboration can be said to exist between Youth Magistrates, the Children's Protection Bureau and the Center for Juvenile Delinquents in Brussels. One could also mention another example in France, realized through the work of the famous team — Judge Rollet, Doctor Heuyer — or the ever increasing collaboration between Children's Courts and the Center for Research and Formation in Vaucresson, which have induced French Magistrates to take part in joint meetings held by teams of experts.

In Italy, since 1954, systematic evaluation of judiciary and scientific interventions in the re-education of young delinquents have been carried out through the association of research and methods of treatment. A Central Bureau for the Re-education of Minors controls the activities of the 24 regional bureaux attached to juvenile-courts and the 24 medico-psycho-pedagogical centers attached to the Ministry of Justice. Mr. Ra-daelli, head of the Bureau, claims that "our whole system of re-educative interventions has developed and continues to develop along lines based on research, practical

experience, and control of the results obtained" (91). This example of the application of methods of treatment elaborated by a team of experts working on a strict "dialectic" basis, is all the more precious to us since Mr. Reale sustained that the magistrate must direct the work of the team and Prof. Di Tullio admitted that this was a correct decision. We might recall, at this point, and with a certain degree of satisfaction, that the opinions shared by Italian experts in this field as well as by the higher official authorities, reflect those of the International Youth Magistrate Association and of its individual members.

This does not necessarily imply judiciary pre-ordained planning in any way, nor the superiority of the legal over the scientific view-point. This only means that "cooperation will predominate over rivalry", to use Dr. Amado's words (92) in any field of work undertaken by a team of workers. The participation of the magistrate is nonetheless necessary, since all the other collaborators cannot have, in the same measure as he does, an over-all picture of the problems involved. They may only see "individual trees in the forest" — whereas the perception of the latter is reserved to the magistrate only. Youth magistrates, and they alone, can visualize the phenomenon in its entire scope: the breadth of the problems it embraces, fluctuations in its development, evolutive tendencies and characteristic features, as well as the exacting demands of the criminal policies which derive from it and the practical possibilities of translating them into action. All serious cases requiring close examination must be evaluated in this context. In choosing the most appropriate method of treatment for a given subject, magistrates must never lose sight of the dual role of their mission: prevention of juvenile delinquency and social protection. He, therefore, can be considered as the most qualified to outline a programme of practical measures to be adopted and at the same time encourage scientific research whenever he deems it necessary.

Evidently, such important functions cannot be carried out by ordinary magistrates — they must have specialized knowledge in their field and become "totally committed" to their work. One of these magistrates, carried away by the zeal which moved pioneers, wrote on this subject: "Within the bounds of traditional magistrature, youth magistrates have had a deep and stimulating effect on both institutions and the men who govern them. Thus, in striving to become true youth magistrates they have become the symbol of youth in magistrature" (93).

Ideas, which for quite some time had been flowing from scientific circles to jurists' and judges' quarters, due to closer collaboration between youth magistrates and clinical criminologists, seem, at present, to be flowing the other way. This notion, as outlined by Mr. Pinatel in his "Chronicles", is not a simple boomerang phenomenon. It may be defined as a new approach — defined as "longitudinal" in that "it gives us the opportunity to follow the evolution of a case during the entire life of the subject, so that we may have a complete and impartial biography of the person involved through systematic observations and the use of various examining techniques" (94). It is to be hoped that these criteria now applied to observation will also be applied, one day, to methods of treatment, in view of obtaining the best possible results.

It sometimes happens, that a *particular method of treatment evolved by a magistrate*, may involve, as in cases brought to our attention by Mr. Pinatel, the whole life-time of a subject or at least that phase of his life when he is still active. These subjects belong to what we call the adult-children group, individuals who never reach complete maturity so to be able to lead a free and autonomous life. We are then faced with the task of taking care of them, treating them, guiding them, helping them in every way, always as discreetly as possible, so that this semi-tutelar treatment should not make them feel harassed or offended. "It is no longer a question of 'manipulating' a subject suffering from obsessive mania in one way and a sexopath in another" Mr. Hochman wrote recently. "The man who stands in front of me must be addressed as a man and it is as a man that I feel I must take the case in hand. We have now reached the stage where psycho-therapy is no longer considered as belonging exclusively to professionals in the field. We must have an ever-growing number of individuals in communities willing to act as co-ordinators between professional groups and their former "patients", who in turn have now become therapists. The so-called "spontaneist" movement, which we refer to, is moving toward a more general and less professional aspect of psycho-

therapy" (95). This is specially important, considering the fact that we are not only dealing with problem children but with their milieu as well. If we are to be successful in this task, comprising as it does, so many fields of human activities, the collaboration of benevolent members of the community should be considered as an indispensable factor (96).

It is therefore in the treatment of persistent offenders in particular, (including after-care treatment) that science and justice, or rather science integrated to social justice, can find their natural field of operation. So far, only haphazard experiments have been carried out in this field, but as Wilkins noted "fortunately for us, the nature of our ignorance has begun to be understood", adding further "and this is already a very encouraging step forward". It has now become an urgent necessity that scientific research, having imposed new methods of treatment in the field of juvenile delinquency, should now consider the problem more seriously than ever before. Problem delinquents are not usually found in great numbers and we are already well equipped to deal with them individually, following their case-histories *through their life-time* if necessary.

On the other hand, treatment restricted to individual delinquents, no matter how efficient, cannot be considered as adequate. Etiological research and the practical experience gained by juvenile-court magistrates have clearly demonstrated that family standards as well as the environment in its wider sense play a leading role in juvenile delinquency. The environment, therefore, must inevitably be considered in the therapeutic measures adopted, if the contributions of the human sciences are to have a real and efficacious influence on the methods of treatment adopted in connection with minor or adult delinquents.

Resumé

By way of resuming briefly what I have said before, I can only state that *the contributions of the human sciences have been of immense help* in our efforts to ward off juvenile delinquency particularly.

— In the field of *etiology*: by studying the underlying causative factors in juvenile delinquency. Research workers in the various scientific disciplines were able to note, among other causes, the role played by hereditary factors, psychic or somatic anomalies; they have contributed enlightening knowledge to the psycho-pathological origins of deviations in human behaviour (individual or group phenomena). They have furthermore brought to light the negative influence of unfavourable social structures which lead to pathological social patterns as well as to the various mesological factors which can become criminogenous. Because of this new knowledge we are now in a better position to plan and organize ourselves in our endeavour to find ways of preventing and fighting juvenile delinquency.

— In the field of *Law and Justice*: the social and medico-psychological sciences have provoked legislative reforms which, at times, have been considered revolutionary. Through the transfer of legal instruments to the competent authorities, repression has given way to re-education in more and more cases, and social rejection has been replaced by re-habilitation and possible social re-adaptation of young individuals. The legal rights of minors constitute the most convincing arguments to demonstrate to what extent the human sciences have penetrated human Justice so that this Justice can be administered in more humane ways and in favour of humanity in general. The question as to whether it is justifiable to divide Law into civil and legal law in this domain has already aroused the interest among the more experienced youth magistrates (Lox); they have also asked themselves if a new type of Law would not be more suitable in this domain — a new code of law for the *protection of the individual* with the aim of preparing the future rather than sanctioning the past.

Laws concerning minors cannot therefore be considered as minor laws — "they are symbolic of the dawn of a new civilization in need of renovated legal systems, which can be integrated within the whole of the social sciences and constitute together with them a new science based on action, and more specifically on planned modifications of social structure" (97).

— In the field of *judicial procedure*: the human sciences in conjunction with the movement for more humanitarian ideas brought about the creation of a new profession: the juvenile-court magistrate. As a pioneer in this field some seventy years ago, this new type of magistrate brought about in the last decades more modifications than other judges had ever done in the past centuries.

Inspired by true feelings of love and charity, guided by the principle of "parens patriae", and illuminated by new scientific ideas, this magistrate has become an instrument of progress by trying to conciliate his functions as arbiter and his functions as a man of action. This new-comer in the traditional judiciary family, drawn by the realities of life rather than by archaic dogma proved capable of sustaining audacious initiatives and maintaining his authority, cutting himself off at once from those judicial activities which had retained somewhat "magical or mystic" characteristics. He no longer clings to the symbols of his office — the ornate robes, complete with jabot and chain of office, nor does he assume a somber expression under his powdered wig, nor will he resort to the grand entrance as he steps into the almost theatrical courtroom where the most moving human drama are re-enacted free of charge for the benefit of the general public.

This magistrate — following his true vocation — awaits within the privacy of his chambers the "children summoned to appear before court" and invites them to sit not on the traditional bench "of infamy" but in front of him and among his parents. And since these "erring" children (98) are no longer indicted for the offence committed, no record of their offence is kept, and the usual "verbal and verbose" duels which took place between the prosecutors and the defence no longer form part of the procedure (99). All the elements which can throw light on the case have been outlined beforehand by the magistrate in collaboration with the experts in various scientific and social branches of science, and these will guide the magistrate in his decision as to the most appropriate measures to adopt to re-educate this little man so that he can truly become a man in the future.

This procedure, free from all formalism, endorsed by the magistrate during all the stages of his judicial intervention, makes it possible for him to issue decrees with full knowledge of the case, in contrast with the methods of traditional procedure, when "the ideal procedure consisted in trying to keep away all those people who had proper knowledge of the case" (Robert).

Verdicts have been replaced by decisions, censure by re-habilitation, sanctions imposed according to the nature of the offence have given way to measures adapted in function of the minor involved and of his environment as well; the "infliction" of penalties was replaced by the application of disciplinary measures and methods of treatment; laws based on "res judicata" were modified to include measures adapted to the evolution of children's and adolescents' behaviour; detention centers and prisons gave way to educative centers and re-education institutions.

Since magistrates have now become personally involved in court-cases from the beginning to the end of the trial, working in close collaboration with doctors, psychologists, psychiatrists, teachers, educators, social workers, clergymen, police officers and other people active in field "of human endeavour" magistrature has been invested on the whole by a new mission in the future.

— In the domain of *Justice*: the introduction of individuals representing the human sciences within the special juvenile (and family) jurisdiction councils, has brought about changes in the traditional conception of "administering Justice". This new Justice, as it is now administered in juvenile courts, may one day be considered as truly scientific, through methods now in use, and classified as social, educative, protective, and preventive because of the new aims towards which it is now progressing.

It may be qualified as *scientific*, since it "feeds on the sap derived from the human sciences" and tends more and more to combine action and research in criminology. It may be qualified as *social*, since it aims to bring about the re-habilitation of young delinquents, a process involving society, taking place within society and working for the benefit of society as a whole.

It is *educative and protective* since it endeavours to realize its aims through the education of children and adolescents and through the protection of human values. It is *preventive* since its radius of action is not limited to minors alone but to their

families and environment. It has also inspired various initiatives in the field of preventive action and can also play an active role as the interpretative instrument of the auxiliary services.

In concluding, we may well say that this new form of Justice is far removed from the symbolic goddess of Justice, Themis, who, blind-folded and holding a sword in one hand and the scales in the other, stood ready to pass judgment on men before looking upon them. Audacious pioneers were the first to remove the eye-band and "when the goddess looked upon the child she realized the sword was not needed" (Nemeth). In order to educate, re-educate and protect children and their families, Themis must keep her eyes wide open and realize that she still needs the eyes of the specialists. As for the scales in her hand, she would do well to exchange them against a magnifying glass or even a microscope!

The contributions of the human sciences have been of constant help in the cause of Justice, striving to become the symbol of judicial humanism, tracing new paths towards new horizons.

In order to derive the full benefits from this evolution, magistrates must avail themselves of all the possible means at their disposal — a situation which is far from being realized everywhere, specially where it would be the most needed. We must therefore support wholeheartedly the resolution passed by the 7th Congress of the A.I.M.J. by bringing this problem to the attention of public authorities of all nations and pointing out, in particular, the dramatic lack of all those means which are essential if we are to protect youth effectively. Furthermore, we should, with all due respect, warn the competent authorities of dangerous consequences whenever decrees concerning the protection of youth in general cannot be applied promptly, through lack of socio-educative personnel or competent institutions specialized in this work.

APPENDIX

COURT DECISIONS

1. MAKING AN ORDER EXCLUDING TREATMENT

Transfer of a case from court authority to another source of authority (notably the parents' domicile).

Committal of the case to a tutelary authority.

Dismissal of the case as "non-suit" at the pre-sentence level.

Acquittal after the preliminary debates.

Judicial pardon.

Suspension of the sentence.

Warning or admonishing the child (and the parents).

Rules of conduct (Weisungen, in German):

— positive: attend school, go to work, take courses (in road safety regulations, for instance);

— negative: prohibitions in regards to certain activities — associating with certain people, residing in a particular place, consuming alcoholic beverages or smoking etc. Reparative acts: making of amends in connection with the offended party, for instance repairing a stolen motorcycle which has been damaged.

Symbolic amends: making a contribution to the Red Cross or a gift to a good cause of social significance, apologizing to the victim, depriving the offender of certain gratifying activities, etc...

2. EDUCATIVE MEASURES OR METHODS OF TREATMENT allowing the child to remain *within his family circle*.

Committal to the care of the family (eventually with legal advice).

Committal to the care of the family in collaboration with judicial control (parents in the capacity of supervisors assume the responsibilities implied).

Committal to the care of the family in collaboration with probation officers (offenders released under licence, assisted by educative measures).

Committal to the care of a fit person (Vertrauenswürdige person):

— a near relative: grandfather, grandmother, aunt, uncle, elder brother or sister, etc...;

— a stranger: a former nanny, the head of a firm, an employer, a member of an organization.

Committal to the care of an outside family (the child is placed in a family where he shares the life of the family).

Committal to a home on a semi-familial basis - small homes (5 to 10 children cared for).

Release of the offender on licence or under the supervision of probation officers involving: a trial period, observation, education, assistance, custody, post-cure or after-care.

Other methods of treatment - special treatment: psychiatric, psycho-therapeutic, medical, socio-educative and others.

Suspension of the sentence committing young offenders to detention centers - all the measures giving the child the possibility to remain within the family circle (his own or someone else's) may be used in connection with this method of treatment.

3. METHODS OF TREATMENT INCLUDING SEMI-LIBERTY

Day "approved schools": institutions which care for children from early morning to the evening, providing suitable meals, school programs adapted to their mental level. Special educators are in charge of these children who enjoy further supervision through medico-psycho-pedagogical services. Social workers serve as a link between the institution and the family where the child spends the night, week-ends and holidays. Homes for wayward children, where semi-liberty is conceded, function in exactly the opposite way: minors frequent these institutions during the hours they would normally remain at home, i.e. at meal-time, at night, eventually during their free time, and are free to attend school or continue working etc.

4. RE-EDUCATIVE MEASURES ADOPTED BY INSTITUTIONS OR METHODS OF TREATMENT ADOPTED BY THESE INSTITUTIONS

Types of establishments:

Homes for wayward children, homes for adolescents.

Educative, re-educative or correction houses, etc.

Institutions with specialized services (for minors suffering from mental or sensorial deficiencies, invalids, oligophrenic patients or epileptics).

Small homes with specialized services (specially in the case of minors suffering from personality disturbances). They are similar to homes based on a family group: one or two educators look after 8 to 12 minors.

Children's or adolescents' villages (Civitavecchia in Italy, George Republic in the U.S.A., work colonies organized by Makarenko in the U.S.S.R., are a few examples).

A special measure, adopted in Uruguay, directs the minor to spend a period in the armed forces or in the navy "when the minor is in condition to do so and shows tendencies for a military career". The measure does not provide for a set time of duty and the minor will always be under supervision in the beginning.

5. SANCTIONS AND PENALTIES

Remittal to the parents or school authorities for punishment. In the U.S.S.R., to the social organizations.

Sanctions against the parents.

Reprimands (specially in Switzerland). This is done in public in the U.S.S.R. (public censure, "blâme publique").

Fines or alternatively a court order prescribing a period of work, or the arrest of the offender.

Work as a corrective measure.

Corporal punishments (in certain countries of Asia and Africa).

Special court-orders (restrictions on week-end liberty: Freizeitarrest in Germany, attendance-centers in England), orders bearing on school-life (in Switzerland), short-term orders (disciplinary orders) or long-term orders.

Detention (Salles d'arrêt in Switzerland and Detention Centers in the United Kingdom). Imprisonment sentence with benefit of reprieve and tutelary protection.

Imprisonment, better known as detention (in a prison for juvenile delinquents or in a special wing, in principle). In Mexico, court-orders in regards to juvenile delinquents can even include detention within one's own domicile ("réclusion à domicile").

Translation from the original text in French, which we beg to refer to in case of doubts.

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CHANGING PATTERNS OF YOUTH PROTEST IN DIFFERENT STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN SOCIETIES

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I

The "youth problem", youth rebellion and protest, or the intergenerational conflict, have, in a great variety of manifestations, constituted a part of modern societies and of modern social problems since the beginning of the development of modern society in Europe. The processes of development of modern societies, of what is now often called modernization, have created a variety of conditions which have tended to intensify the perception and self-perception of youth as a distinct category, with problems of its own, within the broad contours of modern society, and of the generational conflict as a constituent element of modern life.

As in so many other spheres, our perception of these problems, and of the ways to deal with them, has been greatly influenced by the initial forms in which these problems manifested themselves and by the initial responses to them in the ideological and policy making spheres. But, in the meantime, the conditions which gave rise to these problems have been greatly changing, producing new types and new expressions of the youth problems and revolt.

Many of these new types of youth problems — or revolt — have been developing for a long time, but have been often seen as transitory or marginal. But the more recent dramatic events - first the Teddy Boys, the Halbstärke, the

Beatniks, later on Hippies and then more recently the continuous new students' revolts — have indeed indicated that we are facing here some far reaching shifts in the manifestations of the youth problem in modern societies. Truly enough it would be wrong to assume that these have entirely obliterated many of its former manifestations — rather they have variegated the map of youth problems and rebellion. But within this map they have become for a time at least more central — not only because of their novelty or intensity but also because of some deeper reasons which we shall attempt to analyze later on.

II

The general overall causes for the development of modern youth groups and youth problems have been dealt with in greater detail elsewhere and will be only briefly recapitulated here. * These causes are mostly related to the development of what has been called the "non-familial" division of labour in society. The process of modernization, of the development of modern industrial societies is, in a way, concomitant with the fullest development of this type of social division of labour. Thus inclusive membership of modern societies is usually based on the universal criterion of citizenship and is not conditioned by membership in any kinship or territorial subgroup. In these societies the family does not constitute a basic unit of the division of labour, especially not in production and distribution, and even in the sphere of consumption its functions become more limited. Occupations are not usually hereditarily transmitted. Similarly, the family or kinship group does not constitute a basic unit of political or ritual activities. Moreover, the general scope of the activities of the family has been continuously diminishing, while various specialized agencies tend to take over its functions in the fields of education and recreation.

The major social developments of the nineteenth century (the establishment of national states, the progress of the industrial revolution, the great waves of intercontinental migrations) have greatly contributed to this diminution of scope, and in every new phase of modernization there tends to develop a growing discontinuity between the life of the children, whether in the family or in the traditional school and the "outside" world with its new and enlarged perspectives.

To be sure, the extent to which the scope of the family is diminishing in modern societies is often exaggerated. In many social spheres (neighbourhood, friendship, informal association, some class relations, community relations), family kinship and status are still very influential. But, the scope of these relations is more limited in modern societies than in many others, even if the prevalent myth of the disappearance of the family has long since been exploded.

These varied developments were closely related to marked changes in the social functions and organizations of education which it would be worth-while to point out here. In pre-modern societies, the process of education was usually divided into several rather compartmentalized parts. The "central" educational institutions were mainly oriented to the education of an élite and of upper strata and to the upholding and development of the central cultural tradition in its varied manifestations.

The local educational institutions, which were usually only loosely connected with the central ones, were mostly oriented to the maintenance of some general, diffuse and rather passive identification of the various strata with the overall symbols of society without, however, permitting them any closer participation in the central political and cultural activities, and of provision of some technical know-how which would "fit" their position in society. In between the two there were several educational institutions which served as either channels of restricted "sponsored" mobility into the central spheres of society or of some specific vocational preparation.

On the whole, the educational system in these societies was geared to the maintenance and perpetuation of a given, relatively non-changing, cultural tradition, and did not serve either as a channel of widespread occupational and social mobility or of overall active participation of the broader strata in the cultural and political order and of their respective center. The type of education given to different classes was greatly, although not entirely, determined by their social-economic position and not vice-versa.

This has begun to change with the onset of modernity. Education began to deal with problems of forging new national communities and their common symbols, the access to which tended to become more widely spread among different strata. At the same time, it began also more and more to serve as a channel of more general, occupational — allegedly achievement based — selection. Moreover, the system of education tended to become more centralized and unified, thus assuring its permeation to wider strata of the society.

III

All these developments provided the background for the development of the various patterns of youth problems and culture in modern societies, and they indicated the major types of foci of stresses which gave rise to them, as well as the basic directions of reactions to these stresses.

One such focus was closely connected with the changes in family structure and with the growing dissociation between the occupational and cultural worlds of the different generations within the family, with the concomitant weakening of various links among them.

A second such focus developed around problems of occupational choice, advancement and selection.

Third there was the concern with growing demands for participation in the socio-cultural orders in general and in the central spheres of these orders in particular.

The common core of the attempts of youth in modern societies to react to the stresses manifested itself in the development of specific types of youth groups and youth cultures and of continuously growing gap and discontinuity between the generations, especially during the transition from youth to adulthood; in the growing importance, in the process of this transition, of relatively autonomous youth cultures and in the weakening of the direct guidance by parents and teachers and of the relevance, for youth, of adult models.

While the concrete manifestations of the various youth problems and protests have been manifold, some became more prominent in public awareness than others. One such type which became prominent in the public eye, from the middle of the 19th century on, was that of various youth movements and student movements, which have developed especially in Central Europe, taking

part in wider social movements or aiming on the reformation of the society in terms of some distinct, specific youth values.

The second major initial manifestation of the youth problem in the first stages of modernization, was what may be called "social problems" of youth developing out of urbanization or early industrialization and immigration. The main problems here were those of the loss of control by the family over its younger members; of the lack of adequate employment opportunities, problems of maleducation, and lack of adequate vocational guidance, and the various type of juvenile delinquency developing out of it. Here it was mostly the occupational discontinuity, the inadequacy of older economic and societal frameworks and the lack of adequate new occupational opportunities, as well as the general occupational and economic dislocation that were of greatest importance.

In between these two extreme types of youth culture or revolt there developed the various more informal types of youth groups which permeated all spheres of modern society*.

IV

All these various types of youth culture that developed in the first stages of modern societies tended to exhibit some common characteristics. The close linkage between the growth of personality, psychological maturation, and definite role models derived from the adult world, which has been very strong in primitive and many historical societies, has become here greatly weakened. Hence, unlike in primitive societies, the very coalescence of youth into special groups only tended to emphasize their problematic, uncertain standing from the point of view of their social and cultural orders. This new constellation can most clearly be seen in what has been called the emergence of the problems and stresses of adolescence in modern societies and the ambivalent attitudes of youth to adult society.

Paradoxically enough the very process of extension of educational frameworks and the establishment of separate, society wide educational institutions, have emphasized the distinction of adolescence of youth as a special psychological and social problem, and weakened the ambivalence of youth towards the adult world.

This ambivalence was manifest, on the one hand, in a striving to communicate with the adult world and receive its recognition while, on the other hand, it appeared in certain dispositions to accentuate the differences between them and the adults and to oppose the various roles awaiting them in the society and the models presented to them by the adult world. While they aimed to participate in the adult world, they tended at the same time to negate this world or at least many of its concrete roles, models and assumptions.

Ambivalence could perhaps be most clearly seen in the ideologies of modern youth groups. Most of these tend to create an ideology that emphasized the discontinuity between youth and adulthood and the uniqueness of the youth period, but at the same time to indicate that this period, as the purest embodiment of major social and cultural values, uphold by the adult world.

In many ways youth presented itself — and was to no small degree accepted by the adult world — as the purest embodiment of the central charismatic orientations and symbols of the emerging modern social and cultural order. But this also implied that while the attitude within most of these youth groups to adult models was not totally negative, but, as indicated above, ambivalent. The type of order that the adults represented was not entirely negated by the young—rather they strove either to participate in this order and in the more concrete (especially economic and occupational) opportunities available in it, or at most strove to reshape many of its concrete contours and details to open it up to wider participation. They did not, however, necessarily negate the meaningfulness of the type of order that was represented by adult society — or at least by the aspirations and charismatic orientations of this society.

One important derivative of this fact was that most of these types of youth culture and protest, characteristic of the early stages of modern societies, tended to develop very important — even if often only implicit — assumptions. These assumptions were first, that on the whole there existed some close connection and congruence among the solutions to the problems or stresses arising from all the three foci of tensions mentioned above, i.e. from the changing patterns of family structure; from the problems of occupational placement and from the quest for participation in the broader social, political and cultural order. Second was the assumption that, because of such congruency, the problems of social and cultural identity faced by the youth could be solved by participation in these various youth groups within their ambivalent — but not negative — attitude to social and cultural order.

In terms of the structure of the youth groups this meant that within most of them there tended to develop some degree of congruence, among first, their internal solidarity; second, the possibilities of attainment of some (mostly occupational) adult roles, and third, of some meaningful participation in the broader social and cultural order or even in its central spheres. Again, the exact ways in which these different elements tended to be combined varied greatly among different types of such youth groups — the outright delinquent groups being the only exception to this.

This absence of total negation of the adult world in most of these youth groups was especially evident in the fact that most of the more articulate youth protest was very closely connected with the more general — social, national and political — movements of protest developed mostly by adults, and that the rebellious youth identity became very closely related to the symbols of collective identity developed by more general movements of protest.

V

It might be therefore worth-while to dwell here on some of the major characteristics of movements of protest in the earlier stages of modernity.

In these stages of modernity — stages which to some, but only some degree may still be witnessed today in many New Nations — the major orientations and foci of protest were based on the assumption that it is through the reformation and reorganization of the political and national centers that most social problems, and especially the problems of meaningful participation in socio-cultural orders on the one hand, and the problems generated by industrialization on the other, will be solved.

These centers have been viewed as the major foci and frameworks of charis-

matic orientations through which the modern social and cultural orders are defined, and also as the major social and cultural reference points of individuals' identity. They were also conceived as being able, through series of appropriate social policies or through revolutionary changes, to restructure those aspects of modern economy which were felt to be most conducive to alienation and anomie.

Thus, in the first stages of modernity, most movements of social protest evolved around the broadening of the scope of participation and channels of access to the centers, of reforming their cultural and social contents, of solving the problems of unequal participation in them and of finding ways to attenuate or overcome, through the policies of the center, the most important problems arising out of industrialization in general and of the initial development of the capitalist system in particular. It was the solution of these problems that constituted the major goals of most social and national movements in this period of modernity — and it were these goals which were perceived as embodying the most important charismatic dimension of the modern socio-cultural order.

From the point of view of our discussion the initial youth movements which were ideologically oriented were indeed very closely related to such protest movement and most of them were either part or at least shared many of the assumptions of these movements and orientations of protest.

VI

These major initial types of youth problems and protest have also necessarily greatly influenced the types of broad general attitudes and of social policy that have developed with regard to youth problems. One such attitude was manifest in the interest of all social movements and political parties to be able to absorb the potential social political interest and wider orientations of the youth groups into their own frameworks. Thus, special youth sections or organizations were developed by most of the political and social movements and organizations that developed in modern societies.

Secondly, there have developed many agencies of "civic education", whose main aims were first to channelize the potential of the solidarity and of broader orientation of the youth groups in the direction of civic orientations into accepted and "safe" channels and to show a "peaceful" way of absorbing into the more central institutions the less developed, more peripheral groups of the society which yet constituted the majority of the population.

Third, these activities tended very often to overlap, but certainly were not identical with the more specific type of social policies which have developed to deal with youth problems.

One major aim of these policies was to assure a general amelioration of external conditions of life in urban centers and to provide youth with many amenities and services which they lacked in the new urban environments. Most important and central were manifold attempts to establish special services, especially recreational and semi-educational services for youth.

Third, were the various corrective systems, ranging from probation officers, juvenile judges and to some types of social workers — all of which strived to establish adequate means of control of the more disruptive aspects or manifestations of youth.

Fourth, and most encompassing, there developed, also, several broader educational and social policies which attempted to assume the provision of general educational facilities to all the citizens and at the same time to take care of some of the special problems arising out of the new needs of the economy for differentiated types of manpower.

These different social policies tended to develop out of different starting points and they tended to deal with different, seemingly even disconnected, aspects of the so-called "youth problem." They necessarily developed different approaches to different groups and strata of the population and very often they were undertaken by different people and agencies. Yet, they shared several basic ideological assumptions. Their main aim was to close the gap between youth and adults, to bring youth back, as it were, into the fold of adult society, and they did indeed believe in the giving to the new generation the possibility to develop some meaningful social identity by taking care together of the various problems arising of the major foci of tension which gave rise to the modern youth problems — thus in a way reinforcing the parallel tendencies or assumptions which existed within the major youth groups.

But in fact, as can be seen especially, but not only, in the sphere of educational policies, these various policies were in principle based on different, sometimes complementary and sometimes contradictory, orientations and assumptions. One was the broadening of the general educational opportunities and hence also of their aspiration. Second was the selection of the more gifted or select groups from the whole population into the higher echelon of "central" educational and occupational activities. Third, there was the orientation to assure the general participation in the social, political and cultural orders of the society.

Thus, on the one hand, these policies tended to emphasize the general ascriptive right of all citizens to participate — first passively but later on also actively — in the formation of the cultural and social order — thus opening up, for the first time since the classical period of the city-states possibilities, of wide participation in the process of cultural and social creativity, expanding the scope of individuality and the raising of the aspiration to an age of plenitude*. On the other hand they have also accentuated, through their emphasis of educational criteria, occupational selection and placement, more selective and meritocratic orientations — thus in many ways both destroying many older solidarities and restricting the actual possibility of participation in many occupational sectors. In this way they put into question the meaningfulness of the participation in the more central, social, political frameworks of the society, as well as the possibility of attaining the vision of expanding individuality and greater plenitude within the framework of a specialized economy and of the types of social orders and centers which developed in the first stages of modernity.

But it was only later, in the more advanced stages of the development of modern societies, that these contradictory implications of the various policies tended to become visible. In the earlier phases of development of modern societies they were not as yet as apparent or visible.

* The relation between the (recent) student outbreaks and the visions of expanding individuality and plenitude has been noted by E. Shils in his forthcoming article on "Students radicalism".

The growing development of these contradictions in the later stages of modernity became focused around the feeling that with the growing access of wider groups of society in general and of youth in particular to the central spheres of society there tended also to develop a greater limitation on the possibility of the actual realization of such access and hence also on its meaningfulness.

These contradictions and problems developed in almost all major institutional fields, in close connection with the major structural changes attendant on later stages of modernity.

The most important such developments in the economic fields have been the growth of occupational specialization and of bureaucratization of most types of economic markets, the growth of bureaucratization and professionalization of the occupation structure, as well as an increase in the close interrelationship between educational attainments and occupational placement.

These developments have given rise to a series of discrepancies and problems in several fields — such as, among others, those of social mobility, educational selection and development of patterns of consumption.

In the field of mobility the most general development here has been the rise of levels of aspirations among all strata of population, without the development of adequate possibilities of absorption. On the one hand, many élites attempted to maintain and develop different types of restricted, "sponsored" mobility, but at the same time were not able to confine the aspirations of the various groups to these limited opportunities.

On the other hand, there was the continuous intensification of "contest" mobility beyond the absorptive capacity of many of the existing occupational possibilities and the impact of educational selection.

These problems were closely related to those which arose in connection with the varied systems of educational selection, which have become fully or partially institutionalized — together with universal education — in many modern societies. Here perhaps the most extreme examples of which can be found in England and in Sweden, but which can be found in one way or another in almost all other countries.

One of the most important developments here was the intensification of the number of different types of "drop-outs", which tended now to extend beyond the older type of professional, "intellectual", or student unemployment, to the lower echelons of the secondary school levels, and even to the primary school leavers.

These problems of drop-outs have become greatly complicated by the continuous bureaucratization and centralization of the labour markets, by the greater responsibility of the State and of communal agencies both of provision work and of educational facilities and by the fact that in many countries (especially in many New States) the government has become one of the most important employers of the prestige occupations — i.e., civil service and professionals. Perhaps the most important single result of these developments has been the fact that many groups were, through such process, placed early in their life time in occupational positions which restricted the possibility of later mobility and developed the feeling of an early constriction and lack of possibility of advancement within a relatively expanding society and economy.

The tendency to earlier marriage, which has become very widespread in many contemporary societies — especially seen among students on the one hand and

lower class families on the other — has become closely related to these developments.

Another area in the developments which has had many repercussions on youth has been the growing emphasis on consumption. Here there took place the development of a growing area of choices and of pressures to exercise such choice and of a growing awareness, mainly through various media of mass communication, of these manifold choices. The result of this, paradoxically, was the general potential homogeneization of patterns of consumption growing direct access by youth to many amenities of adult society with seemingly little need for direct guidance by adults. But, at the same time, given the realities of income distribution, this very expansion of the scope of consumers' choice tended also to give rise to growing feelings of constriction of real or imagined opportunities.

It was here that the contradiction between the dream of plenitude and the realities of an ever expanding economy could become most acutely felt.

VIII

These contradictions tended to become even more acutely felt in this last area of complex of problems which arises from the development in the sphere of values, of culture and the forging of national, social and cultural consciousness and tradition.

Perhaps the most important single, overall development in this field — which, in a great variety of ways, has been common to many different countries — has been the transfer of emphasis from the creation and participation in the forging of future oriented collective value to the growing institutionalism of such values.

This has been very closely related with a very important shift in the whole patterns of protest in modern societies. Here, as in so many other cases, when many of the initial charismatic orientations and goals have indeed become — through the attainment of political independence, broadening of the scope of political participation, revolutionary changes of regimes or the development of welfare states policies and the like — at least partially institutionalized, they gave rise to new processes of change, to new series of problems and tensions, and to new foci of protest.

Within the context of our discussion it is important to emphasize that the same was true of youth movements and activities, when also many of the goals and values, toward the realization of which these movements aimed, have become institutionalized through the acceptance of such youth organizations as part of the structure of the general educational and cultural structure of their societies. This has indeed happened in most modern societies.

Thus, for instance, in Russia youth movements became fully institutionalized through the organization of the Komsomol. In many European countries the institutionalizing of youth groups, agencies, and ideologies came through association with political parties, or through acceptance as part of the educational system — an acceptance that sometimes entailed supervision by the official authorities. In the United States, many (such as the Boy Scouts) have become an accepted part of community life and, to some extent, a symbol of differential social status. In many Asian and African countries, organized youth movements have become part of the official educational organizations.

IX

These various processes of institutionalization of collective charismatic values had rather far reaching consequences on the shifts of the foci of protest in modern societies in general and of youth protest in particular.

These new foci of protest and dissatisfaction were of several kinds. Some — and perhaps in the first period after the establishment of the modern "social" centers — most visible and vocal ones, and in a sense also the most continuous ones, were those which were focused around the claim of various groups which still felt themselves to be deprived or underprivileged in their access to the centers, or in the relative benefits which they receive from them.

Here, special minority groups — various national and ethnic groups in various European societies, the Negroes in the U.S., and in general the lower, poorer groups which were, to no small degree, left out of the benefits of the Welfare State — were most important foci and bearers of such protest and dissatisfaction.

This feeling of lack of completion of such institutionalization of these orientations was also quite strong in the second type of protest which tended to develop after the initial institutionalization of the modern centers. This type of protest was mostly oriented against the manipulative aspects of the new centers, against the growing feeling of being manipulated by the incumbents of the center, even if formal and symbolic access to them has been attained — or to some degree especially because such access has indeed been attained. This protest was also very often related to difficulties to attain actual access to the centers because of their growing complexity and of growing pressures on it.

In this type of protest there could already creep in a somewhat more new skeptical element about the very meaningfulness of these centers, but initially at least this element was not very predominant in these protest orientations. But later on, in later more contemporary stages of development of modern societies, this new element tended to become more important and there developed many new types of social or cultural protest, borne by relatively non-deprived and relatively non-manipulated groups — although they may very often coalesce with the more deprived groups.

The most important element of these new types of protest is a strong scepticism towards the new social order, a lack of commitment to them, and a tendency toward lack of responsiveness to the institutional and symbolic demands of these centers.

X

Many of these new types of protest have found their clearest manifestations in some of the new types of youth and student movements. This is not surprising as many of the processes of structural and cultural change and contradictions analyzed above tended to impinge most intensively on the social and cultural situation of youth and on the concrete manifestations of youth problems and protest.

Here several such repercussions can be singled out. One is that the span of areas of social life that the specific youth or student culture encompasses has tended to expand continuously. First, it has extended over longer periods of life, reaching, through the impact of the extension of higher education, to what

has before already conceived as early adulthood. Second, it tends more and more to include areas of work, of leisure time activity, of many interpersonal relations. Third, the potential and actual autonomy of these groups and the possibility their members have of direct access to various areas of life, to the sphere of work, of marriage, and family life, of political rights, to consumption have greatly increased — while conversely their dependence on adults in this field has greatly decreased.

But, paradoxically enough, this growing direct access of young people to the various areas of life gave rise to a growing insecurity of status and of self-identity — of occupational and economic status, of the possibility of participation in community life and in the social and cultural order and even in the status in the family. This insecurity manifested itself in the difficulty they tend to feel with regard to the development of meaningful relations; in terms of personal identity, with the continuous processes of historical change which swept over the world and over their respective societies.

This feeling of insecurity was often intensified by the fact that, in many such countries, be they New States, Russian or European welfare states, the new generation of youth and students face not only "reactionary" parents who do not want to allow them to change society, but successful revolutionaries, people whose revolutions have succeeded. Through this success they have become part of a new "establishment", creating a new collective reality which the youth had to face, a reality that, on the one hand, evinced all the characteristics of a bureaucratized establishment but, at the same time, presented itself as the embodiment of revolutionary collective, and spiritual values.

All these changes have also been associated with a notable decline among many groups and strata of ideology in the traditional nineteenth and early twentieth century sense, with a general flattening of such traditional political-ideological orientation and a growing apathy to them. This decline, in turn, has been connected with the growth of the feeling of the spiritual or cultural shallowness of the new social and economic benefits accruing from the welfare state or from the "consumers society".

Similarly the growing institutionalization of the educational system, its continuous spread and its growing bureaucratization, have weakened the direct relation of the educational system to cultural creativity.

As a result of all these processes the possibility of linking personal transition both to social groups and to cultural values — so strongly emphasized in the youth movements and noticeable to some extent even in the looser youth culture — has become greatly weakened. The various collective values have become transformed. Instead of being remote goals resplendent with romantic dreams, they have become mundane objectives of the present, with its shabby details of daily politics and administration.

All the preceding developments have also been closely related to the changing perception of time and of the relation between individual and societal time perspective. In general, these developments have brought about the flattening of the image of the societal future and have deprived it of its allure. The ideological discontinuity between present and future became either smaller, or the two tended to become entirely dissociated. Out of these conditions has grown either what Riesman has called the cult of immediacy, or a total negation of the present in name of an entirely different future.

All these processes have given rise to new types of youth problems and protest. Truly enough, some of the older types of such problems, of unrest and protest still persist, but it is these new ones that have become more prominent.

Among these various new types of youth protest the most prominent have been, as we have indicated above, the various types of Teddy-Boys, the "Halbstärke" and the various groups of new drop-outs in the fifties, and more recently the Hippies, the Beatniks, and various continuous student rebellions and radicalism. These new types of youth groups and youth problems very often merge with various social, political, and artistic groups which maintain, in different ways, a great variety of what has been called "subterranean traditions" of youth and delinquency.

These various types of new youth culture, protest and rebellion are, on the one hand, more varied than those that tended to develop in the earlier phases of modernization. They differ from one another according to great many criteria. They differ in internal cohesion, continuity, and span of membership. The nature of the symbols around which their identity develops does also vary greatly, and does range from relatively mild emphasis on the activities of youth up to fully rebellious attitude towards adult society.

They vary in their attitudes towards the basic occupational, social, communal and leisure activities and in their aspiration with regard to these activities and their self-perception in terms of these values and of the more general society. They vary also in the perception of the broader society and of their own place or places within it and of the possibilities open to them to advance within it. They vary in their attitudes towards the older generation, both on a social, personal level, as models of their own future activities, and as bearers of power in the various spheres of the society and as what may be called channels of transition to the general society.

And yet, despite these many differences, most of these new youth protest aims and organization tended to evince — especially in comparison with the earlier types of youth that tended to develop in modern societies — several characteristics common to most of them. Within most of these new types of youth groups and protest, a growing dissociation tended to develop among the elements which we found that coalesced, in various ways, in the major types of youth problems and rebellion in the earlier stages of development of modern societies — i.e. among the internal solidarity of the youth groups and the expressive interaction of their members, their orientation towards the attainment of occupational and other "adults" roles and to the meaningful participation in the social and cultural orders and centers.

It is this dissociation and the concomitant feeling of the members of these youth groups that they cannot forge out a meaningful identity within the formed types of youth culture, which constitutes perhaps the most important characteristic or syndrome of the new types of youth and student rebellion and protest. Perhaps the most important derivative of this dissociation was the tendency to a rather far-reaching, sometimes extreme disruption between the world of the young and of the adults, the feeling of the younger generation that the adult world cannot provide them with any meaningful — even if negative — models for their own rebellion and for the establishment of their own identity. Hence they tend, in their more extreme manifestation, to develop a total negation of the basic premises — and not only of the concrete institutional contours — of the modern social and cultural order and the attempt to deny

any meaningfulness or any legitimate claims of this center on the commitments of the younger generation.

These phenomena seem to be rooted not only in the structural derivations of the institutionalization of the initial modern charismatic symbols and centers, and of the attempts to solve the "initial" modern social political and economic problems. Beyond this they seem to be rooted in what has been called by Weber the demystification of the world. This demystification becomes here focused around the possibility that the attainment of participation in the existing social and cultural orders and their centers may indeed be meaningless, that these centers may lose their mystery, that the King may be naked indeed.

This demystification may, in its turn, give rise to a new type of social alienation derived not only from the feeling of being lost in a maze of large-scale, anonymous organizations and frameworks, but also from the possibility of the loss of the meaning of participation in these political and national centers.

Or, in other words, these centers may be losing their special place as the loci of participation in a meaningful socio-cultural order, and as the major social and cultural referents of personal identity. There tends to develop here a growing dissociation between the quest for participation in the charismatic dimension of socio-cultural order and the symbolic and organizational frameworks of these centers, a growing feeling of lack of congruence between the quest for participation in the charismatic dimension of human and social existence and these specific types of social and political centers.

XII

It is against this background that the denial, by the participants in the new types of youth and students protests and rebellion, of the possibility of developing their identity through some reference to the existing centers, becomes understandable.

This denial may take on a great variety of concrete forms — from sheer apathy up to various types of destructiveness — whether of wanton destruction on property or interpersonal aggressiveness, or of more symbolic, ambivalent confrontation with the central authorities of the society.

The more extreme manifestations of this denial have usually been depicted first in the combination of aimlessness, of destructive actions, interpersonal aggressiveness, and/or in great emphasis on direct expressive activities and gratification. Second, they were depicted in relative weakness in establishing stable frameworks, groups and relations, and in attempts to direct violent confrontations with the representatives of the existing order.

These characteristics have manifested themselves in different ways in various types of new protests and rebellion. Thus, for instance, they were manifest in the marked change that developed in the overall trend of juvenile delinquency in many countries, and which were seen — a continuous increase in the more "violent" types of delinquent activities — as against the more "traditional" trends of petty crimes — i.e. against property.

Among the Teddy-Boys or lower class Halbstärke, composed to no small degree from various drop-outs, this denial could manifest itself in a strong emphasis on the internal solidarity of their peer group, a purely adaptive relation to the occupational structure, together with apathy towards participation in any broader community, political or cultural order.

Among other lower and lower-middle class drop-outs it could manifest itself in a growing general apathy towards in general a concentration on private family with some minimal solidarity even of their peer groups.

Among the Hippies we find a similar negation of the meaningfulness of the existing institutional framework and especially of its meritocratic, competitive and achievement oriented activities and frameworks. Among them, there develop however also attempts to transfer the internal solidarity of the groups, based mostly on the negation of these aspects of the existing order into the basis of a more general subculture — segregated from the existing order and serving potentially as a starting point for a new social or cultural order.

Among the radical students, especially those from the upper or upper-middle groups, this dissociation and negation manifest themselves in a more general and total negation of the existing social and political order, and in attempts to overthrow it through a series of violent confrontations. Here this negation is oriented against the very symbolic and institutional premises of this order and in their extreme manifestations to aim not only to establish a separate subculture but to destroy the existing order in name of their primordial values and orientations — while at the same time, as against the Hippies, they seem to develop much less cohesive internal social relations.

Of special interest is here the attack on the university itself. In many cases the student outbursts are, truly enough, sparkled off by traditionalistic and authoritarian structure of the university, or by the growing bureaucratization of its structure, with the alleged feeling of a growing distance between the faculty and the students.

But paradoxically enough it is very often the very students which deny the possibility of finding any adequate models within the adult and also complain about the lack of such contact.

This paradox does, however, indeed point out to some of the basic roots of the attack on the University, of the reasons why the University is chosen as one of the focal symbols and objects of such total attack against the existing order. It is not that the various bureaucratic or meritocratic features are necessarily much more developed in the University than in other spheres of social life or in other organizations and institutions, but rather that here the contradiction between them and the demand to broader participation in the social and cultural orders tends to become much more salient and articulated. This is so first of all because the University has been perceived as the major locus of the possibility of such continuous participation as the very place in which the quest for such creativity could indeed be institutionalized.

In this way the University has tended to become the major focus of legitimation of the modern social order and the attack on it indicated not only dissatisfaction with its own internal arrangements or even with the fact that it served also as one mechanism of occupational and meritocratic selection. The choice of the University as the object of such attack does rather emphasize the denial that the existing order can realize these basic premises of modernity, to establish and maintain an order which could do justice to the claims to creativity and participation in the broader social order, and to overcome the various contradictions which have developed within it from the point of view of these claims.

XIII

In so far as there exist any specific data on the distribution of these different types of youth cultures and youth and students power, they do indeed indicate

that the development of these types is closely connected with the differential impact on various groups of the population of the various new developments in the occupational, common and cultural spheres which have been pointed out above.

But there are as yet but few exact data about and it would indeed be very important if more systematic research could be undertaken on this.

Moreover, the preoccupation with the new types of youth should not obliterate the fact that many of the older types of youth culture and protest continue to develop and here again the investigation of the conditions under which they tend to persist should also be part of such a research.

XIV

It is of course difficult to predict the exact long range impact of these new types of protest in general and of youth and student rebellion in particular on the structure of modern social, political and cultural orders.

Some may see in them, as the harbingers of an entirely new civilization, of the same order as the various sects which developed at the end of the Roman Empire and which ushered in the Christian era.

But even if one would not take upon oneself such an extreme prediction there can be no doubt that these developments will have several important repercussions on the structure of modern society.

One such impact will be the development of new foci of continuous protest which will add, in organizational and symbolical terms alike, to the available reservoir of models of protest, to the tradition of protests in modern societies. It indicates a very important shift in the foci of protest in modern societies. As already indicated above the major shift here is from greater participation in national political centers or from attempts to influence their socio-economic policies to new directions, the most important of which seem to be first, attempts to "derobe" these centers of their charismatic legitimacy — and perhaps of any legitimacy at all; second, continuous search for new loci of meaningful participation beyond these existing centers; and the concomitant attempts to create new centers which would be independent of them; third, attempts to couch the patterns of participation in these centers not so much in socio-political or economic terms, but more in symbols of primordial relations or of direct social participation.

Truly enough, in a sense, these new foci of protest go back to various anarchist traditions in which protest orientation is no longer focused around the political center or at least have been ambivalent to it.

But as these movements of protest do arise from the very process of institutionalization of the former goals which assumed some congruencies between the charismatic — social, political and cultural — centers, and of their economic activities, they may already denote new dimensions of change in modern societies.

This brings us to some additional impact of these processes. Thus, they may give rise to the redefinition of boundaries of collectivities, of the relation between political center and the boundaries of social and cultural collectivities; of growing dissociation and to the development of the new nuclei of cultural and social identity which transcend the existing political and cultural boundaries.

These processes will also probably result in the growth of new areas of

permissiveness of "moratorium" for wider groups of society — areas in which some people may participate more fully, while others in a more transitory fashion, — areas which, in various ways, will institutionalize the possibility of the extension of individuality beyond the more bureaucratized meritocratic occupational and administrative structures.

Within the framework of some at least of these bureaucratic organizations there may develop also a marked shift in direction for a greater participation of various groups within them and second of greater participation of broader (community or political) groups in the definition of their goals.

All these developments may, in their turn, give rise to a redefinition of many roles and role-clusters — such as those of citizens, of occupational and status roles. Some incipient beginnings of such developments can already be discerned in many places and one of the important tasks of social research in the coming decade could be to analyze these various shifts and processes continuously and systematically.

L'INFLUENZA DELLA STAMPA E DELLA TELEVISIONE NELLA FORMAZIONE MORALE E POLITICA DELLE NUOVE GENERAZIONI

di Enrico Mattei



Il relatore Dott. Enrico Mattei, Direttore
de « La Nazione ».

Desidero innanzitutto premettere che le mie considerazioni non hanno né possono avere alcuna pretesa scientifica, peraltro esclusa dalla natura stessa del tema. Io tenterò solo di riassumere brevemente le mie esperienze di direttore di giornale che ha seguito attentamente le vicende della contestazione giovanile in una regione nella quale le agitazioni universitarie hanno avuto manifestazioni vivacissime, spesso violente, culminate in episodi di clamorosa risonanza nazionale.

Di fronte a questi episodi, e al clima morale e politico in cui si sono verificati, il giornale e i suoi redattori hanno avvertito più volte lo sgomento della propria impotenza, nella incapacità di incidere, con l'arma del razioicinio, su un fenomeno sociale in cui si poteva e si può ben intuire una confusa aspirazione umanitaria ed egualitaria, e l'anelito verso un mondo migliore, più libero e più giusto, ma nel quale era ed è patente — nell'assenza di chiari e precisi obiettivi — il carattere di ribellione tumultuosa e irrazionale contro tutto e contro tutti, resa pericolosa — anche per i fini stessi che qua e là sembrerebbero desiderati e voluti dai contestatori — dall'uso sistematico di mezzi non accettabili in una comunità democraticamente ordinata.

Il dato emerso da questa esperienza giornalistica è riassumibile in questa semplice proposizione: in una società moderna, dove vige la libertà di stampa, e ai giornali e agli altri mezzi di comunicazione viene attribuita da tutti una forza di pressione, una influenza determinante, si è dovuto constatare che l'opera di propaganda, di predicazione, di persuasione svolta attraverso i quotidiani, i periodici, i mezzi audiovisivi, ha avuto assai scarsa presa su un gruppo sociale, quello degli studenti, che pure per il suo grado di istruzione

dovrebbe essere, in teoria, il più aperto alla penetrazione della carta stampata. La rivolta studentesca si è alimentata di idee e di una filosofia che avevano trovato scarsa o nulla divulgazione in giornali, in riviste, nei giornali-radio e televisivi; e anche tra coloro che se ne erano sbrigativamente occupati — su un piano di pura registrazione — non avevano trovato né avvocati, né diffusori, né propagandisti. *Si può anzi dire che sono stati i giovani, con la loro rivolta, a suscitare nell'opinione pubblica un moto di curiosità per i filosofi della contestazione e per i maestri teorici e pratici — cinesi o latino-americani — della moderna guerra civile, provocando quella fiumana di articoli e di libri sull'argomento che ci ha quasi sommerso in questi ultimi anni.*

In parole più semplici possiamo dire che il mondo degli anziani, e un sistema giornalistico e radiotelevisivo che di quel mondo era ed è tuttora in gran prevalenza espressione, sono stati sorpresi e trascinati da un moto giovanile, di cui non avevano neppure sospettato la maturazione, e messi di fronte alla brusca rivelazione di un circuito di pensieri, di orientamenti, di filosofie, del quale molti ignoravano l'esistenza, altri avevano una conoscenza approssimativa e superficiale.

Altri aspetti sorprendenti della contestazione giovanile, già da altri più volte rilevati, sono: 1) il suo carattere di universalità; 2) la straordinaria rapidità con cui questo carattere di universalità è stato raggiunto, ossia la velocità con cui il moto di contestazione si è propagato e diffuso in tutto il mondo; 3) la diversità degli obiettivi legati alle condizioni particolari, politiche e sociali, dei vari paesi; 4) la uniformità delle manifestazioni, tanto più sorprendente se si considera appunto la diversità, almeno apparente, degli obiettivi.

Ai fini del tema della relazione le questioni da porre sono tre:

1) come si spiega che una stampa e una radiotelevisione in grande prevalenza orientate a difesa di ordinamenti costituiti, non importa se nel proprio paese o altrove, abbiano avuto così scarsa presa sulle giovani generazioni da non riuscire ad impedire e neppure a frenare un moto di contestazione globale, che ha rifiutato tutti i modelli esistenti — la democrazia occidentale, l'autoritarismo fascista o fascistoide, il comunismo — orientandosi se mai verso l'indefinito modello cinese, e talvolta respingendo pur esso, per inseguire un chimerico regno dell'eguaglianza, della giustizia e della libertà assoluta (come se ciascuna di queste tre cose fossero realizzabili, o potessero esserlo tutte e tre insieme);

2) attraverso quali canali informativi e divulgativi si sono propagate nel mondo, con la rapidità che ci ha sbalorditi, idee nuove, filosofie inedite, slogan di fresco conio, valicando fulmineamente frontiere politiche, ideologiche;

3) se e in quale misura un sistema giornalistico e radiotelevisivo rinnovato possa adempiere nell'avvenire, attraverso l'avvicinarsi delle generazioni, almeno a quella funzione di avvistamento, di allarme e di segnalazione che in questo caso è mancata.

1) La risposta più facile al primo quesito è quella che si può estrarre dai dati statistici sulla diffusione dei giornali. Le indagini di mercato compiute al riguardo dai vari organismi interessati (editori di giornali e di riviste, società di pubblicità, ecc.) concordano su un punto: in una classificazione dei lettori per gruppi di età i giovani non maggiorenni sono appena il venti per cento, e la maggior parte di loro prende scarso interesse alle notizie politiche, e un interesse ancora minore ai ragionamenti con cui vengono commentate (i giovani lettori di giornali sono attratti in prevalenza dalle cronache sportive).

Se mai quest'interesse si è acceso quando la contestazione giovanile è entrata

a vele spiegate nella cronaca dei giornali. Allora i giovani si sono accostati ai giornali per apprendere quello che era avvenuto nel mondo studentesco, in Italia e all'estero, e per curiosità di vedere come erano raccontati e giudicati i fatti di cui essi stessi erano stati protagonisti e testimoni. Ma i riflessi di questo contatto sono stati sorprendenti. I giovani contestatori si sono difesi e hanno contrattaccato con un giornalismo rudimentale, improvviso, sintetico, fatto di scritte sui muri e di volantini ciclostilati. In questi rabbiosi documenti invano cerchereste un tentativo di ragionata confutazione degli argomenti di coloro che vengono considerati nemici della gioventù e delle idee nuove di cui la gioventù si crede portatrice. Al posto degli argomenti trovate insulti sanguinosi e roventi condanne, che coinvolgono totalmente, in blocco, tutta la stampa, compresa quella di sinistra, come espressione di una società di padroni, che rende tutti coloro che accettano di farne parte, anche se a parole critici o dissenzienti, « condizionati » e schiavizzati da un sistema che vulnera le facoltà intellettuali dell'uomo. I giovani autori di quei volantini incendiari non fanno mistero di considerare che discutere con degli esseri talmente abbruttiti dalla lunga servitù sarebbe sprecare tempo, fiato, inchostro e fatica, come se si trattasse di farsi capire da una delegazione di marziani.

Si potrebbe obiettare che questa radicale ripulsa delle istituzioni esistenti e delle idee correnti da parte delle giovani generazioni non costituisce un fenomeno nuovo. La storia della umanità non è infatti che una successione infinita di contestazioni, attraverso le quali le giovani generazioni si sono sollevate contro i loro padri, giudicando sbagliato o infame tutto quello che essi avevano pensato, detto, scritto, costruito, e reputandosi portatrici di verità nuove più certe del Vangelo. Se Benedetto Croce scherzava quando asseriva che il solo modo di risolvere il problema dei giovani è quello di lasciarli invecchiare (ma lo stesso Croce dimostrò coi fatti di reputare che la resistenza agli errori e alle intemperanze dei giovani è un dovere degli anziani) è certo che pretendere di preservare la società dagli errori e dalle intemperanze dei giovani sarebbe sognare ad occhi aperti, e pretendere di sopprimere il lievito stesso della storia e dell'umano progresso.

Dobbiamo dunque tener presente che tutti i moti di contestazione di cui sono state rievocate le vicende a proposito della contestazione attuale — dallo *Sturm und Drang* germanico al futurismo, dal nazifascismo al maoismo — confermano la tendenza dei giovani al rifiuto irrazionale e sommario di tutto il passato, e all'accettazione acritica, intransigente e intrattabile, settaria e dommatica, delle parole d'ordine nuove, che si credono destinate a sicuro avvenire, perché conformi ai disegni della storia. Recepite per le vie più indirette e misteriose, queste nuove religioni laiche infiammano gli animi e seducono le intelligenze di giovani che non acconsentono neppure a discuterle pacatamente con chi osa cimentarsi con loro nel vano tentativo di sottoporle al vaglio della ragione. Anzi, chiunque provi a contrastarle sul piano di una critica ragionata, viene aggredito anche nella sua figura morale, e raffigurato e additato al pubblico disprezzo come il prodotto putrescente e il losco campione di un mondo condannato a crollare sotto il peso delle sue colpe nefande e delle sue orrende brutture.

Tuttavia, anche se le considerazioni che precedono sono del tutto ovvie e scontate, tanto che non varrebbe neppure la pena di rinverdirle, resta il fatto da noi sottolineato: la presenza nella società contemporanea di un elemento nuovo e moderno, quale è la grande stampa industrializzata, non è valsa a rendere meno aspro e radicale l'eterno, inevitabile conflitto di generazioni. I giornali e le riviste di maggior diffusione riflettono, siano governative siano di opposizione, le istituzioni esistenti e le idee su cui sono fondate; ossia sono più o meno consapevolmente schierate a difesa dei tipi fondamentali di ordi-

namenti realizzati nei vari paesi (la democrazia di tipo occidentale, il comunismo, l'autoritarismo di tipo fascista). In buona sostanza dunque può dirsi che la stampa contemporanea svolge, in senso lato, una funzione conservatrice, e non rivoluzionaria, sollecitatrice di scelte nell'ambito di cose che già esistono, e non creatrice o promotrice di cose radicalmente nuove. Ebbene, il contrasto di generazioni manifestatosi con la comparsa sulla scena mondiale dei giovani delle prime leve postbelliche non solo è stato più aspro e violento che mai, ma ha visto prevalere un furore iconoclasta, irrazionale e distruttivo, volto contro tutti e contro tutto, oppure orientato verso modelli meno vicini, meno conosciuti, e più incerti e confusi (il maoismo, il castrismo): quelli nei confronti dei quali i giornali si erano meno impegnati nell'approfondimento critico e nell'opera divulgativa.

2) Finora, nel trattare il tema della nostra relazione, abbiamo considerato i giornali e le riviste, ossia il giornalismo stampato. Una considerazione a sé merita il mezzo televisivo, che sulla contestazione giovanile ha avuto una influenza ben maggiore, anzi decisiva, ma in senso del tutto negativo, come cercheremo di dimostrare. In quello che diremo al riguardo sarà trovata la risposta al secondo quesito che ci siamo posti quando abbiamo accennato ai canali informativi e divulgativi per mezzo dei quali si erano diffuse le parole d'ordine della contestazione giovanile, provocando il miracolo della universalizzazione, anzi della rapidissima, velocissima universalizzazione del fenomeno. È in questa rapida universalizzazione che si ravvisa il più vistoso carattere distintivo della contestazione contemporanea nei confronti delle contestazioni del passato. Lo « Sturm und Drang », il futurismo, il fascismo, furono movimenti di più stentata e lenta diffusione, e furono contenuti, almeno nelle più radicali e violente loro manifestazioni, in un ambito geografico relativamente limitato. Ciò fu dovuto prevalentemente al fatto che allora non era stata inventata la trasmissione a distanza delle immagini. Se fosse esistita fin da allora la televisione si può essere certi che le cose sarebbero andate ben diversamente. I giovani sono sensibili al fascino delle idee nuove, ma sono soprattutto sensibili al fascino delle azioni nuove. Se la « contestazione » giovanile da quella università di Berkeley, che è considerata la sua culla, trasmigrò fulmineamente in Europa, e vi trovò tanti adepti e tanti imitatori, questo accadde soprattutto perché milioni di giovani europei, sugli schermi della televisione, videro i loro colleghi californiani in azione e furono sedotti e contagiati dal loro esempio. Gli slogan della ribellione antiautoritaria apparvero certo allettanti a chi era nell'età in cui la ribellione e il desiderio del nuovo sono istintivi e naturali; ma infervoranti apparvero soprattutto quelle occupazioni delle sedi universitarie, quelle sfide alle autorità accademiche, quegli scontri con la polizia, quelle azioni di guerriglia nelle piazze e nelle strade, quelle barricate improvvisate agli accessi delle sedi universitarie conquistate con baldanza giovanile. La TV fece vedere queste imprese; mostrò quei pionieri della contestazione studentesca mentre affrontavano coraggiosamente i rischi di una aperta ribellione all'ordine costituito, non importa per quali ragioni e con quale scopo; rese popolari le figure dei giovani capi delle falangi rivoluzionarie; fece risplendere l'aureola del martirio sulla fronte di quelli di loro che erano incorsi nella repressione poliziesca e giudiziaria. Come sorprendersi se generazioni di giovani, cresciute nel clima sostanzialmente pacifico e tranquillo del dopoguerra, nel *confort* della cosiddetta civiltà dei consumi, abbiano invidiato e quindi imitato quei manipoli studenteschi che si erano aperti la strada delle rischiose avventure, si erano dati un acceso ideale, non importa quale, e per quell'ideale avevano impegnato la lotta e il combattimento, ma una lotta e un combattimento reali, non quelli metaforici dei contrasti civili, degli scioperi, delle agitazioni sindacali?

Gli anziani non possono aver dimenticato i numerosi adolescenti e giovanissimi, anche di estrazione proletaria, che non avevano fatto la guerra, e furono attratti in Italia, nel primo dopoguerra, dai gagliardetti neri del fascismo, soprattutto perché sedotti dall'idea dell'azione diretta, del rischio e del combattimento. Possono quindi immaginare con quale forza avrebbe agito questo richiamo se allora fosse esistita una televisione, che avesse permesso di vedere le imprese delle squadre fasciste. Andando ancora più indietro, se si considera il fascino che esercitarono sulla gioventù di tutti i paesi le imprese delle camicie rosse garibaldine, in un mondo in cui pure gli echi dei fatti lontani arrivavano deboli e tardivi, è facile immaginare quale popolarità e quale seguito avrebbe conquistato l'eroe dei due mondi se una TV avesse permesso a milioni, a centinaia di milioni di persone di seguire con i loro occhi le sue imprese uruguayane, la spedizione dei Mille, le battaglie di Varese e di Bezzeca.

3) La conclusione alla quale crediamo di poter arrivare, al termine di queste osservazioni e considerazioni, è intuitiva: i nostri giovani sono quelli che erano i loro padri e i loro antenati, quando erano giovani; la rivolta contro il mondo che hanno trovato è caratteristica della loro età; il fascino del rischio e dell'avventura sarà sempre potente sugli animi dei ventenni. Anche il contrasto di generazioni è legge eterna dell'umanità. L'elemento nuovo, di cui dobbiamo tener conto, è il fatto evidente che i moderni mezzi di informazione e di comunicazione, lungi dall'attenuare il contrasto delle generazioni, avranno l'effetto di renderlo più aspro, più radicale, più drammatico. L'azione moderatrice di una stampa, che non potrà non riflettere, nella sua generalità, l'ordine costituito, e i principi su cui esso è fondato, avrà scarsissima presa sui giovani; mentre il giornalismo televisivo, di cui è facile prevedere il sempre più grandioso sviluppo, offrendo l'immagine viva delle contestazioni in atto, susciterà in ogni angolo della terra, con le stesse molle psicologiche che abbiamo visto in azione in questi anni, masse di imitatori. Quello che dobbiamo dare per scontato è quindi la universalizzazione del ricorrente fenomeno delle contestazioni giovanili; con conseguente incremento della loro violenza, per il fatto che il numero dà coraggio e baldanza, mentre l'ampiezza del fenomeno contestatario impressiona chi dovrebbe fronteggiarlo, e scoraggia le repressioni.

Questo non significa che la stampa non abbia altra funzione che quella di assistere, a braccia conserte, alle contestazioni giovanili né che la RAI-TV debba solo rifletterne sui suoi schermi le manifestazioni. Compito di un ceto giornalistico consapevole dei suoi doveri e delle sue responsabilità dovrebbe essere quello di porgere più attento orecchio al mondo giovanile, non fosse altro che per segnalare tempestivamente l'insorgere di queste esplosioni ricorrenti di rivolta contro l'ordine costituito. Questa opera di segnalazione, oltre tutto, potrà fornire un indispensabile strumento per i ceti governanti. Anch'essi hanno bisogno di capire meglio i giovani, in un mondo come il mondo moderno, che volge decisamente verso l'uniformità spirituale, e sui cui destini l'internazionale della gioventù è destinata ad esercitare un peso progressivo.

Dobbiamo ammettere che, almeno in quest'opera di segnalazione, la stampa, che è quanto dire la generalità dei giornalisti, ha fatto letteralmente bancarotta. Ci siamo comportati con la noncuranza che Benedetto Croce ostentava con la sua celebre frase già da noi riportata. Abbiamo anche noi pensato che per occuparci dei giovani avremmo dato prova di saggezza se avessimo atteso il giorno in cui i giovani avrebbero cessato di essere giovani. Non abbiamo riflettuto abbastanza sul fatto che erano stati i giovani, con i loro metodi spicciativi, con l'azione diretta a cui vanno le predilezioni degli uomini della loro età, a determinare due grandi svolte della politica italiana: l'intervento

nella prima guerra mondiale, imposto dai giovani con i tumulti del cosiddetto «maggio radioso», e il fascismo, movimento di giovani sensibili all'appello patriottico e nazionalistico di Mussolini, ma soprattutto sedotti dal fascino dell'avventura.

Se pensiamo che da anni ogni giornale ha un critico teatrale, un critico cinematografico, un critico musicale, un informatore sindacale, e magari anche un cronista mondano, ma al mondo della scuola non usava dedicare che qualche articolo di specialista, e non pubblicava cronache continue della vita degli atenei, comunità di decine di migliaia di italiani (se mai la vita universitaria entrava nei giornali quando era entrata nella cronaca nera), è impossibile negare la scarsa chiaroveggenza dimostrata da tutti noi. Se i moti della contestazione giovanile ci hanno colto di sorpresa, del tutto impreparati, la colpa è solo nostra. Domarli non avremmo certo potuto, conoscerli per tempo, prevederli, sì.

Non possiamo illuderci dunque che possa bastare nell'avvenire occuparci dei giovani per soffocare lo spirito di rivolta e di opposizione che è proprio della loro età, e modificare i giudizi con cui i giovani guarderanno sempre all'opera e alla figura degli anziani, da cui furono preceduti; ma se è impossibile pretendere che i giovani capiscano gli anziani, sarà già importante che gli anziani riescano a capire i giovani, le idee che fermentano nei loro cervelli, le aspirazioni che accendono i loro animi, le imprese e le battaglie da cui si sentono attratti e affascinati.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE PRESS AND OF TELEVISION IN THE MORAL AND POLITICAL FORMATION OF THE NEW GENERATIONS

by Enrico Mattei

To begin with, let me state beforehand that the considerations I am about to submit to you are not and cannot be founded on scientific principles, and as such cannot be included with those having direct bearing on the theme chosen for this conference. I shall only attempt to give you a brief account of my experiences as editor of a newspaper which has followed young people's protest movements very closely in a region where university agitations have assumed the most colourful manifestations, sometimes of a violent nature, culminating in clamorous episodes, the echoes of which spread throughout the country.

Confronted by certain episodes, and by the moral and political atmosphere in which they took place, our newspaper and its editorial staff have often felt powerless in their endeavour to bring their influence to bear, through rational arguments, on a social phenomenon in which one could and still can intuitively detect confused humanitarian and equalitarian aspirations and a yearning for a better, freer and fairer world. Nevertheless, it was and is still evident — granting that no clear and precise objectives were ever stated — that it took the form of open rebellion, of irrational riots against everything and everyone, sometimes assuming dangerous proportions (sometimes willfully instigated by the rioters themselves) through the systematic use of weapons which cannot be accepted by a democratically-run country.

The facts which have emerged from this journalistic experience can be summarized as follows: in a modern society such as ours, where freedom of the press exists, where this press and other means of information are accused by all to exercise pressure or a determining influence on the public, our practical experience has shown that all our work of propaganda, persuasion or preachings, diffused through our newspapers, has had little or no effect on a particular stratum of society, that of the student world. This is all the more puzzling if we consider that students, having reached a certain level education, should in theory be all the more sensitive to the influence of the printed word. Students' militant movements were nurtured by ideas and philosophies which had not yet gained much attention from newspapers, magazines, radio or television news reports. Among those that had summarily treated the subject, limiting themselves to facts, they had not found a single supporter, or anyone willing to divulge these ideas or undertake a propaganda campaign. *It would be truer to fact to say that the young people themselves, through rebellion and riots, succeeded in awakening public curiosity in regards to both the philosophers who inspired these militant movements and theorist-leaders of modern civil-warfare (Chinese or Latin-American). This in turn provoked an avalanche of articles and books on the subject which have flooded the market for the past few years.*

In other words, the adult world, including journalists, radio and television columnists, who by in large reflect public opinion in their writings, was completely taken by surprise and swept off their feet by these youth militant movements, whose explosion took them unaware, and had to face abruptly the revelation of a flood of ideas, orientations, philosophies, all forming a vicious circle, of which they had not even suspected the existence or, in exceptional cases, had only approximate or superficial knowledge.

Among the other astonishing aspects of these youth militant movements, already pointed out by others on several occasions, we should mention:

1) its universal character; 2) the extraordinary rapidity with which this characteristic of universality has been achieved, meaning the speed with which these revolt move-

ments have reached and spread all over the world; 3) the diversity of their objectives depending on the political climate of the countries involved; 4) the uniformity of these demonstrations, so much more surprising if we consider the diversity or at least the apparent diversity of their objectives.

In order to adhere more closely to the theme of the subject we are now scrutinizing, we should ask ourselves three questions:

1) how are we to explain that the press, radio and television organs, whose policies are largely orientated in the defence of constitutional law, whether in reference to our own country or abroad, managed to have so little influence on the young, to the extent that they could neither stop nor deter a global protest movement which refuses all existing models — be it occidental democracy, fascist or pseudo-fascist government or even communism — favouring if anything the indefinite Chinese models, at times even rejecting the latter, in order to follow chimerical ideologies based on absolute equality, justice and liberty (as if any of these three absolutes could be achieved, let alone the three together!!).

2) through what channels of information and divulgations have these new ideas spread with breath-taking rapidity throughout the world — not only new ideas, but philosophies unknown until then, newly-coined slogans which crossed political and ideological frontiers like lightning.

3) is it possible and in what measure, for journalistic, radio and television organs, renewed in their structures, to promote closer contact between generations, prompt awareness of current events and their diffusion, and eventually sound the alarm — all of which did not unfortunately occur in our case.

1. The easiest answer to the first query is the one we can deduce from a survey made on newspaper circulation. Market research undertaken in this respect for the various groups interested (newspaper and magazine editors, publicity companies etc.) have one point in common: in the classification of readers according to age group, young people in the pre-adult age-group were found not to exceed 20%, the majority of them having little interest in political news and showing even less interest in the accompanying comments (young people who read newspapers are attracted, for the most part, by sports news only).

If there has been an awakening of interest on their part, this coincided with the outburst of articles on youth revolt movements in all the newspapers. Then the young became attracted to the newspapers to learn what was going on in the student world in Italy and abroad, and to satisfy their curiosity as to how the events of which they had been both protagonists and witnesses, had been reported and evaluated. But their reactions to this contact have been rather curious. The young rebels set about to defend themselves through rudimentary forms of journalism, synthetic in style and largely improvised, such as slogans on walls and manifestos printed on duplicators.

In these leaflets pouring with hatred, one could have searched in vain for the faintest attempt to confute the arguments advanced by those whom the young rebels consider the arch-enemies of youth and of the new ideas for which they alone are the mouthpiece. Instead of rational arguments one could usually find outpourings of blood-curdling insults and fiery condemnation of the press as a whole, left-wing newspapers included.

They were branded as the mouthpiece of the establishment, which, according to them, transforms all those who accept to remain in its ranks, even if they criticize or dissent, into conditioned slaves of a system which weakens the intellectual faculties of man. The authors of these fiery leaflets do not try to conceal their opinion that discussions with such individuals, debased as they are by their long servitude, would be purely wasting their breath, a pure waste of time, energy materials (ink included), just like trying to make oneself understood by a delegation from Mars.

Someone could advance the argument that this radical rejection of all existing institutions and current ideas on the part of young people today should not be considered as an entirely new phenomenon. In fact the history of mankind could be considered as an infinite succession of revolts, during which young generations have risen against their fathers, labelling as erroneous and infamous all their thoughts, opinions, writings or accomplishments, and re-affirming their belief that they alone were the bearers of new truths, truer than the Bible's. Benedetto Croce may have seemed somewhat facetious when he stated that the only way to solve the problem of the young was to let them get older (but, at the same time, Croce advanced concrete arguments to express his belief that he considered older generations as having the sacred duty to show resistance against the errors and intemperances of the young). But there is one thing we can affirm with a certain degree of certitude — pretending to preserve society from the errors and intemperances of youth is like dreaming with one's eyes wide open, as if we could expect stifling the very leavening agent of history and progress.

We must then bear in mind that all previous revolt movements which have been recalled to our attention — from the "*Sturm und Drang*" in Germany to the futuristic movement, from fascism and nazism to maoism — all confirm the present tendency of young people to reject everything connected with the past, without rational or profound criteria, and to accept with uncritical, uncompromising, intransigent, fanatical, dogmatic and prejudiced fervour the new coined phrases which, according to them, will assume great significance in the future since they form part of a wider design of history. Transmitted through indirect and mysterious channels, these new laic religions inflame the hearts and entice the intellect of young people who do not even consent to discuss them peacefully with those who dare make friendly approaches in the vain attempt of exposing them in the light of rational judgment. Quite on the contrary, whosoever should try to oppose them through logical criticisms, is attacked on the plane of morality, described and pointed out as worthy of public scorn, as someone who is the putrifying product and sly champion of a world condemned to crumble under the weight of its evil wrongs and base actions.

Nevertheless, even if the preceding considerations could be dismissed as obvious and easily predictable, to the extent that it might not even be worthwhile to recall them, one fact remains, as I have already pointed out: the dynamic presence of a new and modern element in contemporary society, such as our modern industrialized press has shown itself to be helpless in trying to make the eternal, inevitable conflict between generations less bitter and radical. The newspapers and magazines which are most widely circulated, whether they reflect actual government policies or the opposition, reflect existing institutions and the ideas on which they rest; in other words they more or less consciously take a stand in respect to the various forms of fundamental political systems in various countries (democracy in the western countries, communism, authoritarian dictatorship such as fascism). In short, one could claim that the press today essentially plays a conservative rather than revolutionary role in modern society, proposing choices among existing patterns rather than creating or promoting new radical ideas. Well, the contrast between generations, which first became evident when the post-war generation appeared on the world-scene, not only proved to be bitter and violent than ever before, but witnessed an iconoclastic, irrational and destructive furor, lashed against all and everything, or else orientated towards more remote models, not very well known, more nebulous and confused (maoism, castrism) ideologies which most newspapers had not considered seriously, omitting to dedicate themselves to a more profound critical study of the underlying ideas and to divulge them in the press.

II. So far, in developing the theme of this report, I have limited my discussion to newspapers and magazines, in other words to printed matter. Television, as a means of communication, should be considered separately, since in regards to young people's revolt movements it has played a considerably more decisive role, generally of a total negative nature, as I shall try to demonstrate. What I shall say on the subject

may serve as an answer to our second query when I mentioned the informative and divulgative channels through which the passwords of young people's revolt movements were diffused, provoking what we considered the miracle of its universal nature, that is the rapid and fast spreading "universalization" of the phenomenon.

It is in this particularly swift "universalization" that we can distinguish the distinct character of contemporary young people's revolt movements as against those of the past. Movements such as "Sturm und Drang", futurism, fascism, were slower in developing and spreading, and were contained, at least in their more radical and violent manifestations to limited geographic areas. This was due to the fact that long-distance transmission of images had not yet been invented. If television had been in existence at the time, it is almost certain that things would have gone quite differently. Young people are almost always fascinated by new ideas, but above all, they are fascinated by new activities. If the Berkeley University students' revolt, considered as the original spark which set off the others, found fertile soil in Europe with such lightning speed, and found so many followers and imitators, this was principally due to the fact that millions of young Europeans actually saw, on the television screen, their colleagues from California taking part in militant actions and were thereby enticed and contaminated by their example. The anti-authoritarian slogans submitted to the public immediately caught the attention and admiration of that particular age-group for whom rebellion and the search for new experiences form part of their very nature. Their enthusiasm was particularly aroused by scenes re-evoking the occupation of universities, the goading of academic authorities, the confrontations with the police force, the guerrilla tactics in streets and squares, the hastily erected barricades to impede the entry into the occupied universities, the confidence, known only to youth, with which the militants resorted to violence. The television screen brought all these ventures into our homes; it showed these pioneers of student revolt while they courageously faced the risks involved in open rebellion to constituted order, regardless of their motives or purposes; it contributed to make these young radical leaders popular figureheads; it helped to create even brighter haloes around the so-called martyrs to the cause, who happened to face political or judicial sanctions. How then can it come as a great surprise if our present young generation, who had grown up in the relatively peaceful and quiet post-war world, enjoying the comforts of affluent society, suddenly began to envy and later imitate a handful of students who had paved the way for risky adventures, moved by idealistic aspirations — whatever they were — but who were willing to fight and pitch battles for these ideals, to engage in actual fights and battles and not in metaphoric substitutes as in the case of social conflicts, strikes or union demonstrations.

People among the older generation will easily recall that a good number of adolescents and young adults, even among the proletariat, too young to go to war, seemed irremediably attracted by the black pennants of fascism in the immediate post-war period, since they symbolized, for them, the call for direct action, risk and involvement in fighting for a cause.

It can then be easily imagined how this inner-call could have been re-enforced if television had existed then, bringing the activities of fascist squads to general attention. If we go further back in time, and consider to what extent young people all over the world were fascinated by the exploits of Garibaldi's red-shirt men, one can easily imagine the degree of popularity and number of followers this hero of two-worlds would have gained if there had been a television system to give the opportunity to millions and millions of people of following with their own eyes his ventures in Uruguay, the "Spedizione dei Mille" (military expedition with a thousand men) the battles of Varese and Bezzecca.

III. The conclusion which I think I can draw, as we reach the end of our observations and considerations, is largely intuitive: young people today are exactly the same as their fathers and forebears before them when they too were young; their revolt against the world they found, is characteristic of their age; the fascination exercised by risk

and adventure will always be profoundly felt by young people in the twenty-year old age-group. Furthermore generation gaps will always exist between generations. The new element which we must take into account, is that it has now become evident that modern means of communication, far from having an attenuating influence on generation gaps will have the opposite effect in the future, making them more bitter, more radical, more dramatic. The moderating effect of a press, which generally speaking can do little else but reflect a constitutional political system and the principles on which it rests, can have but little influence on the young people in future times, while television news bulletins, of which it is easy to predict the ever-growing development, through actual visual images of revolts taking place, will provoke masses of imitators in the four corners of the earth, moved into action through the same psychological weapons applied these past few years.

The important point that stands out with evident clarity is the universalization of this recurrent youth revolt phenomenon — with the increasing violence that follows, unleashed by a collective sense of strength, assuming such proportions that the very people who should be ready to margin its effects remain stunned and frightened to have recourse to repressive measures.

This does not necessarily mean that the press should not assume any other function than to stand-by with folded arms, while student riots are taking place nor, on the other hand, that the radio and television programs should limit themselves to visual images of these manifestations. The function of responsible journalistic organs, conscious of their duties and responsibilities, should be to develop sharper ears in regards to youth, if for no other reason than to draw attention, at the opportune time, to these recurrent explosions of rebellion against constituted authority. Moreover, by drawing attention to these events, the press will serve as an indispensable organ of information for the governing classes. They too need to have a better understanding of young people, evolving in a modern world such as ours, in which spiritual uniformity seems to be more and more evident, and which is destined to feel the progressive weight of international youth movements.

We must admit that as an instrument capable of sounding the alarm, the press, meaning journalists in general, has literally proved to be a complete failure. We behaved in the same careless manner as Benedetto Croce liked to put on show when he repeated the famous phrase already mentioned above. We also have been guilty in thinking that before taking young people into account it would be wise to wait for the day when these young people were no longer young. We did not spend enough time reflecting upon the fact that it was the young people themselves, with their hasty methods and concrete actions, so well loved by young men of their age, who played a determining role in the two turning-points of the Italian political system: our participation in the first world-war, imposed by the young through the tumults which took place on the famous "radiant May-days" (*Maggio radioso*), and the outset of fascism, a movement which appealed to the young who were sensitive to the nationalistic and patriotic call-to-arms slogans for which Mussolini was famous, but who were, above all, fascinated by the idea of adventure.

To think that for years every newspaper has always included theatre critics, music critics, cinema critics, union reporters or even fashion reporters on their staff, but only occasionally dedicated a few articles to the student world, perhaps written by a specialist in the field. They never published regular articles on university life, and yet thousands of Italians spent a good deal of time in these communities (if news regarding university life was ever reported it was usually of such nature as to be included among criminal news). We cannot therefore deny that a lack of foresight was shown by all of us. If student revolt movements have taken us all by surprise, we have only ourselves to blame. It is quite unlikely that we might have been able to control them, but we might at least have been able to become aware of them in time and foresee the results.

We cannot therefore entertain the illusion that in the future renewed interest in young people will be sufficient to suffocate the spirit of revolt and opposition which animate them at that age, nor help to moderate their judgements in regards to preceding

generations and their achievements. On the other hand, even if we are willing to admit that it may be near to impossible for youth to understand their elders, we should be ready to admit that it will already be an important step forward for older people to strive to understand the young. This implies not only the young people themselves, but the turmoil of ideas which occupy their minds, their inner urge for a cause to believe in, their longing to become "involved", swayed as they are by the aggressive turbulence and riotous activities of the militant leaders who draw and hold them under their spell.

Translation from the original text in Italian, which we beg to refer to in case of doubt.

THE TREND TOWARDS EARLIER PHYSICAL MATURATION OF CHILDREN, 1850-1965

by J. M. Tanner



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During the last fifty to a hundred years children have been maturing progressively earlier in Europe, North America, Japan and at least in some parts of China. Puberty is now reached earlier than a century ago, even by as much as five years in some communities. The age at which growth ceases, too, has changed. In the past men 20 years old — students and conscripts, for example — were still growing in height; nowadays, only an exceptionally delayed man grows more than a few millimeters after his nineteenth birthday. The social implications of this trend need no underlining here: they range from the recruiting of young athletes to Olympic-type training at earlier and earlier ages to the current agitation in England for the lowering of the age at which marriage can be entered into without the parents consent. The facts are perfectly clear (though sometimes still called into dispute by those who dislike their implications). The causes, however, are less certainly established; as for all events in human biology they are complex, and the ordering of them into those that are more and those that are less important is still largely a matter of personal judgement.

The *evidence* for the trend comes from two sources:

1. Heights and weights of children at each year of age, taken usually in baby clinics or schools. These data are not decisive as evidence, since a

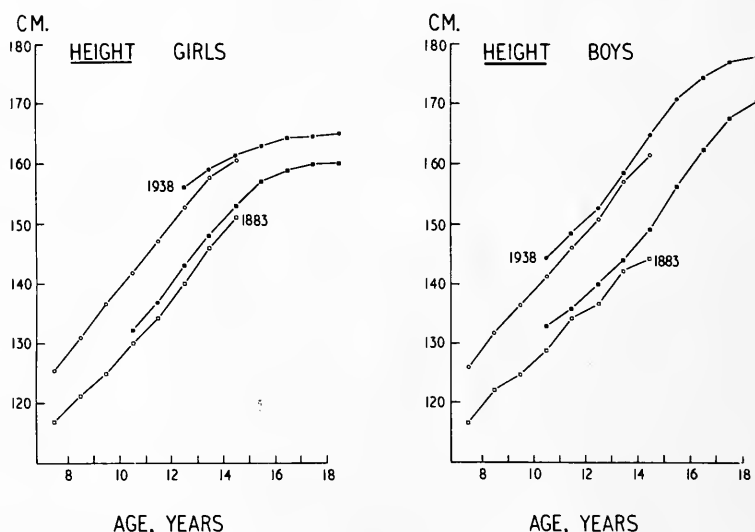
tendency for children to become larger at each age could merely mean that adults were becoming proportionately larger also. There is additional evidence, however, that though adults have been getting larger, this is only to a much lesser degree.

2. The age at menarche, or first menstrual period, in girls. The age of first appearance of pubic hair in boys is a less reliable index of maturity, and one that has been less studied.

Heights and weights of children at each year of age 1880-1960.

Figure 1 shows the greater height and weight of Swedish schoolchildren in 1938 compared with 1883. I have chosen these data for illustration since they are very extensive (8500 children measured in 1938, by only two measurers). As in most data, the secondary schoolchildren are slightly larger than the children receiving only elementary education but these differences are completely dwarfed by the secular trend. The difference 1883-1938 is

FIG. 1

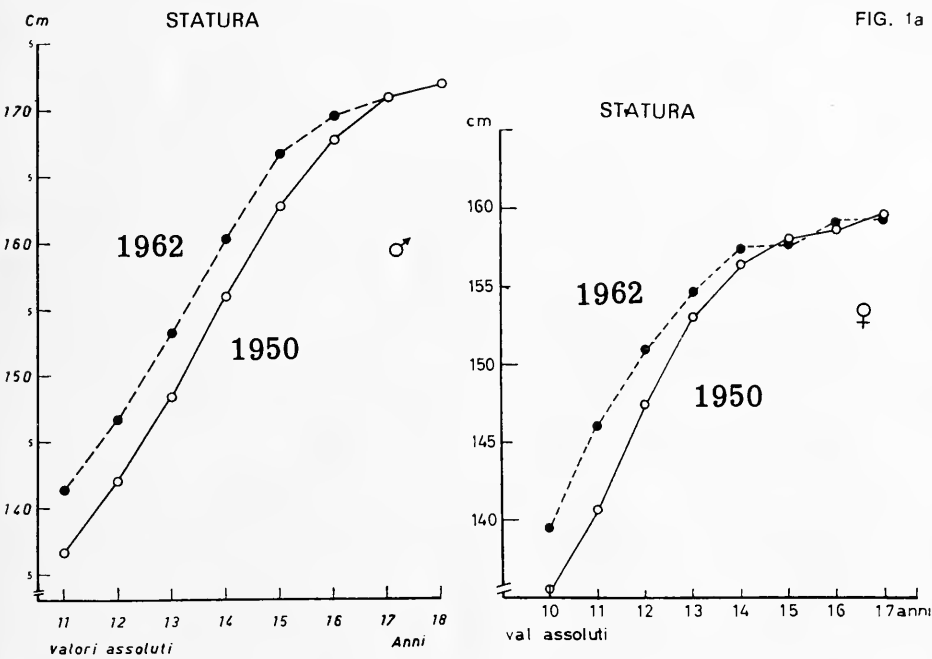


Secular trend in growth of height and weight.

Height (above) and weight (below) of Swedish girls and boys measured in 1883 and in 1938-39. Elementary schools age 7-14, secondary schools 10-18. Distance curves; cross-sectional. (Data from Broman, Dahlberg and Lichtenstein 1942, Tables 11-14) (from Tanner 1962).

well established by age seven; the 1938 children are of a size corresponding to about $1\frac{1}{2}$ years' advancement in growth. When height growth ceases it is evident that the secular difference is less than during the growing period; but nevertheless it exists, as can be seen from the height graph for girls, since by eighteen the girls even in 1883 have stopped growing. (They are, however, rather specially selected girls, since they are still in school at eighteen, and represent the best-off part of the population; we shall return to the question of the trend in adult height later). Interestingly, I am told that the 1966 data,

still unpublished, show only a small further increase during the pre-school years, but a considerable one from age 10 onwards.



Secular trend in height in North Italian boys and girls. From G. De Toni et al, *Auxologia*, Volume 2, Minerva Medica, 1969.

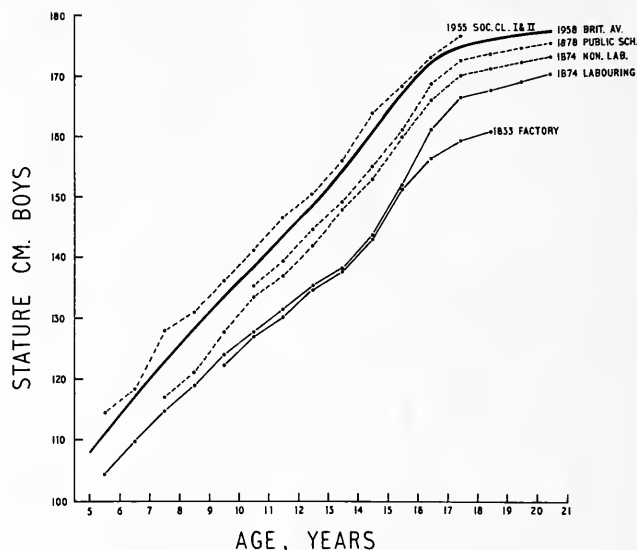
Fig. 1a shows similar data from North Italy from surveys reported in the great book on Auxology by De Toni. In the twelve years from 1950 to 1962 there is a difference of approximately 4 cm at age 12 in boys and girls; but by the end of the growth period the difference has disappeared entirely, in contrast to the Swedish data. The Italian figures show a pure acceleration of growth, then, and no adult trend in height (which we shall discuss in a few minutes).

Extensive data are available on school age children for Sweden 1883-1938; 1938-50, Norway 1920-60, Finland 1916-56, Germany 1911-58, Switzerland, Poland 1880-1963, Holland 1955-1965, Austria 1935-52, Czechoslovakia 1895-1951, and the Soviet Union 1925-1960. In the United Kingdom we have figures for Glasgow 1906-55 at age nine and 1906-50 at age five, nine and thirteen; London 1938-59; and the much earlier, but more scrappy data illustrated in Figure 2. There are data for New Zealand 1943-54, New South Wales 1915-54, Canada 1890-1945, the United States 1880-1960. There are also figures for Japan 1900-52 and Hong Kong 1920-60.

The European and North American data are all in good agreement; from about 1900, or a little earlier, to the present time children in average economic circumstances have increased in height at age five to seven by 1 to 2 cm each decade and at ten to fourteen by 2 to 3 cm each decade. Thus in Glasgow present-day five-year-olds are about 5 cm taller than five-year-olds in 1906; nine-year-olds some 8 cm taller than in 1906, and eleven-year-olds

nearly 10 cm taller. In Iowa nine-year-old girls are also about 8 cm taller now than in 1900. There is an approximately proportional gain in weight, and also in other bodily dimensions; thus shape changes have been non-existent or very small, the change is in size and not in proportions.

FIG. 2



Height of English boys 1833-1958 to show secular trend. 1833 factory boys, from Cowell, quoted in Bowditch (1877); 1874 labouring and non-labouring classes, 1878 "Public" school (upper classes) from Roberts (1874, 1876, 1878), Fergus and Rodwell (1874), Galton (1874); 1955 social class I and II from Birmingham Survey (Clements, unpublished); 1958 British average. (From Tanner 1962).

The data on pre-school-age children are very scanty; such as they are they indicate that the trend in Europe and America starts directly after birth and, relative to absolute size, may even be greater from two to five than subsequently. Indeed in a number of countries the length and weight of the newborn baby has increased so the trend was starting even in foetal life. The last large series of London data however show most of the change between 1954 and 1959 concentrated between ages eight and fourteen with little difference at five, six or seven. This would agree with the latest information from Sweden.

The trend has been slowed from time to time by the famines of war, and, to a less extent, of economic crisis. Fig. 3 shows the effect of the war in the U.S.S.R. beginning in 1940 on the heights and weights of 13-year-old boys in Moscow City. Such interruptions apart, however, the trend has been steady.

Evidently it started, at least in Britain, some considerable time before 1880, because Roberts, writing in 1876, said that "a factory child of the present day at the age of nine years weighs as much as one of 10 years did in 1833... each age has gained one year in forty years". Nearly all data agree in indicating that the trend in Europe is still continuing, and has in most areas been more marked in the last twenty years than in the preceding forty. In Japan it seems that the gain before age six has been less than in Europe, though the school-age gain is nearly up to European values.

There is some evidence, however, that in the United States the trend is becoming less; the better-off children may be growing up at something approaching the fastest possible speed. The trend at 8 years old in the children of the Fels Research Institute—longitudinal study in Yellow Springs, Ohio, from 1946 to 1966 was a little over 0.5 cm/decade for boys and 0.3 cm/decade

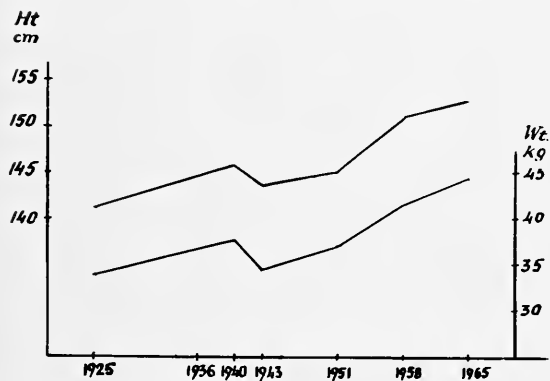


FIG. 3
Mean heights and weights of 13-year-old boys in Moscow City from 1925 to 1965 (from Vlastovsky 1966).

for girls (Garn personal communication). The sex *difference* appears in other data as well as these. It seems that boys react more than girls to a variety of environmental stresses from irradiation at Hiroshima to malnutrition in Central Europe. When circumstances improve, therefore, boys respond more than girls; probably this accounts for the difference in trend (see below).

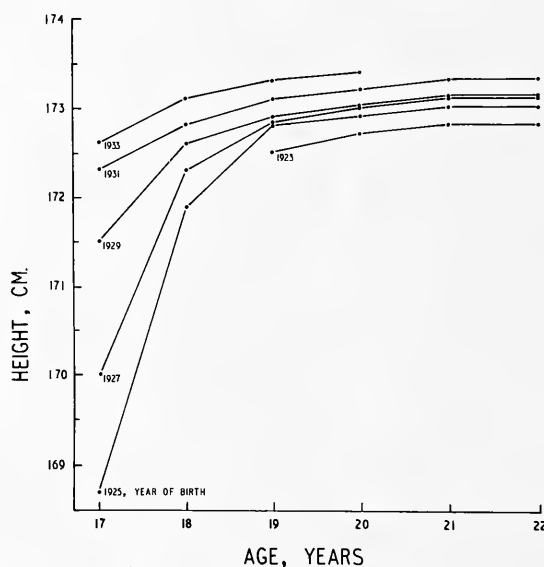
The trend in adult height

If adult height had remained constant all the time, Robert's implied interpretation of the childhood increase would be correct; all the gain in children's height would be due to earlier maturing. The Glasgow five-year-old of 1950 would be (not look like, but be) the Glasgow six-year-old of 1900, the eleven-year-old of 1950 the 12½-year-old of 1900. In fact, however, there has been also an increase in adult height, though this is much less than the increase in height of children. Thus the trend in children's size is due chiefly to acceleration of the maturing process, and in a smaller degree to the ultimately reached adult size being greater.

There has been some dispute about this adult height increase. This was because maximal height in men some fifty years ago was reached only at the age of around twenty-six, whereas now in Europe and America it is reached at eighteen or nineteen. Fig. 4 illustrates the same effect at a somewhat younger age in quite recent data. French University students born in 1925 still grew considerably from age 17 to 18, in contrast to students born in 1933. The difference in height at age 17 was about 4 cm; by age 20 however, only about 0.6 cm. In the same way, we cannot estimate the adult trend by comparing the heights of twenty-year-olds in 1900 and 1960; one must either compare twenty-six-year-olds in 1900 with twenty-year-olds in 1960, or at least make an allowance for the 20 to 26 year gain fifty years ago. Fortunately there are a number of sets of data which permit us to do this.

The classical series is that from Norway, reported at length by Kiil in 1939. Not only have there been height measurements extending back to 1741 of men aged seventeen to twenty-six, but even longitudinal records from the eighteenth and nineteenth century of individuals' heights from fifteen to thirty years old. This superb archive makes it clear that final adult height increased little (i.e. less than 1 cm) in Norway from 1760 to about 1830; from 1830 to 1875 a gain of around $1\frac{1}{2}$ cm, or 0.3 cm/decade, took place and from 1875 to 1935 a gain of 4 cm, or 0.6 cm/decade. The tradition of the Norwegian archive has been continued recently by Udjus whose figures lead to a still higher gain, of about 0.9 cm/decade, from 1922-62. In Norway at least therefore, the adult trend seems still to be continuing. In Sweden, the data also lead to a figure of 0.8 cm/decade for the 1900-1962 trend.

FIG. 4



Secular trend in height of French students during 1940s. Average of all men students, mixed longitudinal data, according to year of birth. Note greater maximal height in more recently born and earlier approach to maximum. Redrawn from Aubenque (1957) (from Tanner 1962).

In Holland also records were kept of the height of men called up at nineteen or twenty for the civil militia and remeasured at age twenty-five. This series extends from 1819, and has been analysed by Oppers. The fully adult or twenty-five-year-old height actually dropped slightly from 1820 to 1860, but in the hundred years since 1860 is estimated to have risen approximately 9 cm, or 0.9 cm/decade.

The British data are not as satisfactory as these. But Ward has shown that miners measured in 1952-62 were some 3 cm taller than miners at full adult height in 1943. The adult trend from about 1930 to 1960 in this occupational group approaches 2.5 cm/decade. This is almost certainly greater than the trend in the better-off sections of the population. In most Western European countries the data are in excellent agreement and point to an adult trend of

between 0.6 and 0.9 cm/decade from about 1870 to the present day. In the United States the trend has been about 0.3 cm/decade for whites and 0.7 cm/decade for negroes during the years 1940 to 1960, but was probably nearer 0.7 cm/decade for whites from 1917 to 1940. It is of much interest that Dutch, Norwegian and Danish data all seem to show little gain until about 1860, and an accelerated gain from around 1880 till approximately the present day. I will discuss the possible reasons for the trend later; suffice it here to say that Sauvy estimates that the real wages of a labourer in France began to rise about 1850, and that historians, I believe, say that in England the labourer's diet began to improve about 1815 but progressed only very slowly till about 1850, after which it got rapidly better. Mortality in England began declining around 1840 and the decline (except in perinatal mortality) became marked after 1860. The stature of persons living in medieval village communities may well have been higher than that of labourers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When the population expansion began (around 1750 in England) it seems likely that the social conditions of most manual workers grew worse for at least a hundred years.

The adult trend evidently still continues at least in Europe. The trend for French University students shown above in Fig. 4, for example, is 0.7 cm/decade from 1941-1951. In the United States the trend may be coming to an end, at least in the better-off section of the community. Bakwin and McLaughlin have shown that students entering Harvard University from private schools (whose families were therefore rich, even by United States standards) were only 0.7 cm taller in 1958 than in the 1930s. Boys entering from the ordinary state schools however were 4.3 cm taller in 1958. The difference between entrants from the two groups was 4.0 cm in the 1930s and 1.0 cm in 1958. Girls entering Wellesley College increased only 0.5 cm in height from the 1930s to 1958, whether they came from a private or a state school.

Age of menarche

The trend towards earlier maturing during the last hundred years is perhaps best shown by statistics on the age of menarche, or first menstrual period. A selection of the best available data is illustrated in Figure 5.

Naturally these data are not all equally reliable. Studies in which individual children have been followed through childhood till they menstruated, and the age recorded, have shown that in a given population age at menarche is distributed in the regular bell-shaped curve statisticians called the Normal Distribution. As a consequence, the statistical technique of probits can be used to estimate the mean age of menarche from cross-sectional data. This is a very fortunate circumstance, since all one has to do is to select a proper sample — of the schools in a certain area, or of all girls belonging to a certain occupational group for example — and then simply ask every girl whether or not she has experienced her first period. Ideally all girls aged nine to seventeen should be interrogated. A plot of per cent menstruating against age (ranging from say 10 per cent at 10.0 to 90 per cent at 15.5) gives a sigmoid curve, which repeated experience has shown to be very well fitted by probits. Most large-scale modern studies are carried out in this way, and some older data can be subjected to this method also. An equally valid procedure, of course, is that of the longitudinal study where every child is examined repeatedly until menarche has occurred.

A procedure that may not give a valid estimate of the mean in cross-sectional

data, but has been much used in the past, is that of inquiring of all children in a school or college what age they were when they first menstruated. Apart from the difficulty of exact recollection on the part of those who had their menarche several years before, a more important bias is introduced if there remain any girls who have not yet menstruated. Such girls will have high values for menarcheal age, and if these values are omitted, the mean age obtained is spuriously low.

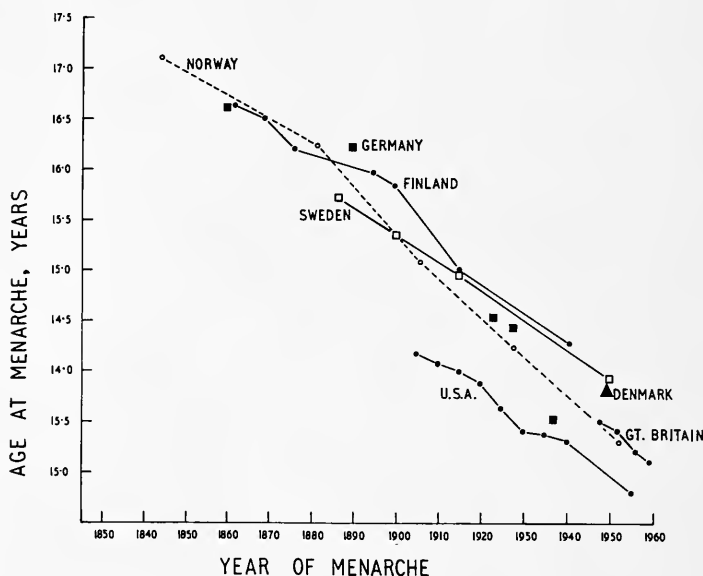


FIG. 5

Secular trend in age at menarche 1830-1960. (From Tanner, 1966).

The older data suffer from disadvantages both of sampling and technique. Most of the pre-1920 data concern hospital patients, who may be a biased sample of the population at large. Worse, these data concern entirely the recollected age of menarche, that is the age at which menarche was remembered to have occurred by women interrogated five, ten or even twenty years after the event. At least some women can recall fairly accurately the age of their menarche, even when they are over 30; but the only available study concerns Americans who participated in a longitudinal growth study and had their attention concentrated upon the events of puberty. In using recollected-age data, it must be borne in mind, naturally that when a woman says she menstruated at age 13, it is an average age of 13.5 and not 13.0 that is normally meant, and should be recorded.

Despite these defects the main conclusion implicit in Figure 5 is perfectly clear. The data are impressively consistent; and additional lines for girls in Budapest from 1860 to 1960, in Leningrad, in Czechoslovakia and Warsaw are almost exactly parallel to the ones in the graph. Evidently menarche in Europe has been getting earlier during the last hundred years by between three and four months per decade. Other data, besides those illustrated, are available for France, Denmark and Holland, and for parts of America; they agree well with this conclusion. The trend in height and weight at the age of

puberty is in good agreement also, children of twelve thirty or forty years ago have the size of children of eleven at present.

The best figures for menarche in Great Britain, for example, are: Manchester working women, about 1820, 15.7 years; "educated ladies" of the same time and place, 14.6 years; University College Hospital, London, obstetric patients about 1830 and 1855, 15.4 and 15.5 respectively; London "middle classes" about 1880, 15.0 and Edinburgh Royal Infirmary gynaecologic patients about 1905, 15.0. The fall is of the same order as in Scandinavia, but in the nineteenth century the menarche was not quite so delayed as it was in Norway and Finland. The 1820 figure for "educated ladies" is particularly interesting, as these were upper and middle class women corresponding to those with an average age of menarche of about 12.9 nowadays. This corresponds to rate of fall of about half the general figure given above.

In Poland a similar difference appears, between Warsaw women, who were and are relatively well off, and women living in rural areas, whose diets, hygiene and general circumstances are worse. Warsaw women have values rather comparable to London "middle classes" from 1875 to the present, giving a trend of only 2.8 months per decade. Country women, on the other hand, in 1890 had a very late menarche, about equal to that of the Norwegians, in 1840; and the trend has been about 5.4 months per decade. Even so, there remains a difference still of nearly two years between the groups.

The present-day ages of menarche in various groups are listed in Table 1. These data are selected as all being modern and highly reliable, and obtained, with a few exceptions, by probit analysis.

It appears that Cuban girls have the earliest recorded menarche, with those chiefly of negro extraction slightly (12.3), but insignificantly, ahead of those mainly of white descent (12.4). The authors of this paper remark that the negro girls live under worse economic circumstances than the whites; if their circumstances were matched, the negro Cubans might be even more advanced. Chinese girls in Hong Kong also have a very early menarche (well-off 12.5); even the very poor reach menarche as early (13.3) as most much better-off Europeans. Amongst Europeans the Italian girls seem to be earliest, though the data for this group are from a small series only and probably represent a higher-than-average social stratum. East Europeans seem to mature somewhat earlier than West Europeans, especially when economic circumstances are matched. Comfortably-off Americans are slightly ahead of West Europeans. Well-off Africans are not much later than Europeans though badly-off Africans (the South African Bantu) certainly are. The only group which nowadays has menarche as late as many Europeans of a century or more ago are the Bundi of New Guinea, with an average age of 18.8, and no girl menstruating before age 17.0. There is at present little sign that the trend shown in Figure 5 has stopped, or that girls are now maturing at something like the earliest possible age. It seems that these lines may be extrapolated onwards for at least another decade or two. Extrapolation backwards, however, is clearly an impossibility. There is little real information available for dates before 1800, but Quarinonius, writing of Austria in 1610, says:

"The peasant girls in this landschaft in general menstruate much later than the daughters of the townsfolk or the aristocracy, and seldom before their seventeenth, eighteenth or even twentieth year. For this reason they also live much longer than the townsfolk and aristocratic children and do not become old so early. The townsfolk have usually born several children before the peasant girls have yet menstruated. The cause seems to be that the

AGE OF MENARCHE IN RECENT YEARS

All estimates by probits or logits unless indicated

Country		Year	Mean age and S.E.	Author
Norway,	Oslo	1952	13.4	Kiil 1953
Sweden,	All	1951	13.9 * approx.	Romanus 1952
Denmark,	Copenhagen	1950	13.8 \pm 0.3	Bojlén et al 1954
	Copenhagen	1963	13.1 \pm 0.12	Andersen unpubl.
Holland,		1956	13.7 \pm 0.06	Rusbach et al 1961
Switzerland,	Basle	1956	13.5 \pm 0.10	Heimendinger 1964
England	London	1959	13.1 \pm 0.02	Scott 1961
	Bristol	1956	13.2 \pm 0.02	Wofinden et al 1958
Scotland,	Edinburgh	1952	13.4	Provis et al 1955
Hungary,	Budapest	1959	12.8 \pm 0.08	Thoma 1960
	Szeged	1961	13.0	Farkas 1962, 1964
	All	1959	13.2 \pm 0.02	Botlyán et al 1963
Poland,	Warsaw	1965	13.0 \pm 0.04	Milicer and Szczotka 1966
	Wroclaw	1961	12.6 \pm 0.06	Zukowski et al 1964
Rumania,	3 towns	1963	13.5 \pm 0.06	Cristescu et al 1964
	3 village areas		14.6 \pm 0.07	
U.S.S.R., **	Moscow	1965	13.0	Vlastowsky 1966
	Tbilisi	1962	13.2	
	2 provincial towns	1960-2	13.7	
	Rural area	1958	14.3	
	Buriat Rep. villages	1957	15.0	
Yugoslavia,	Zemun	1963	14.3 \pm 0.06	Zivanovic et al 1964
France,	All	1950	13.5 \pm 0.01	Aubenque 1964
Italy,	Florence	1960	12.5 \pm 0.11 ***	Young et al 1963
U.S.A.,	Denver (well-off)	1955	12.6 ***	Deming 1958
	California	1950	12.8 \pm 0.12 ***	Nicholson et al 1953
Cuba,	Negro	1963	12.3 \pm 0.08	Laska-Mierzejewska 1965
	White		12.4 \pm 0.03	
	Mulatto		12.6 \pm 0.06	
Chinese,	Hong Kong	1962		Lee et al 1963
	rich		12.5 \pm 0.18	
	average		12.8 \pm 0.20	
	poor		13.3 \pm 0.19	
Burma and Assam,	town, well-nourished	1957	13.2 \pm 0.08	Foll 1961
Ceylon,	Colombo	1950	12.8 \pm 0.07	Wilson et al 1950, 1953
	rural		14.4 \pm 0.16	
Nigeria,	Ibo (well-off)	1960	14.1 \pm 0.16	Tanner et al 1962
East Africa,	Buganda	1960	13.4 \pm 0.16	Burgess et al 1964
	Kampala (well-off)			
South Africa,	Bantu	1958		Burrell et al 1961
	Transkai Reserve			
	not poor		15.0 \pm 0.03	
	poor		15.4 \pm 0.04	
East Africa,	Rwanda	1960	16.5 approx.	Heintz 1963 Heintz and Olivier 1965
New Guinea,	Bundi	1964	18.8 \pm 0.33	Malcolm 1966

* estimate only

** the U.S.S.R. figures were obtained by graphical probits only

*** longitudinal data (Demings figure may represent a biased selection of the Denver longitudinal sample, and be lower than is representative)

inhabitants of the town consume more fat food and drink and so their bodies become soft, weak and fat and come early to menstruation in the same way as a tree which one waters too early produces earlier but less well-formed fruit than another".

Causes of the trend

We must clearly distinguish between the trend towards greater height and weight in children and the lesser trend seen in adults. Probably various environmental changes are chiefly responsible for the change in menarcheal age and for that portion of the greater size in children which reflects earlier maturation; the trend in adult height, and on the other hand, may be due to at least as much to genetical as to environmental factors.

Of the environmental factors better nutrition is of course the most obvious. In acute periods of starvation growth is certainly delayed and puberty temporarily postponed. When such an acute starvation ends the child accelerates to above his normal growth-rate, in a "catch-up" towards his normal growth curve.

He may or may not reach it again, depending on the severity and duration of the malnutrition. In chronic malnutrition it is fairly certain that not only a great delay in maturation can be caused but also a stunting of final adult height (see below).

Trends of menarche and children's size

If better nutrition is the major cause, then one might have expected that the trend both towards earlier puberty and greater size in childhood would have been less in the better-off children than in the poor, on the grounds that in most industrialised countries the circumstances of the poor have altered more than those of the rich during the last hundred years. This is in fact the case for menarcheal age in England and Poland (see above). In Wroclaw (Poland) Milicer has shown that daughters of College-educated parents have their menarche on average at 12.9 years; while daughters of unskilled workers have a mean of 13.4 years. She also showed that whether the family came to Wroclaw from the countryside or whether they were of urban origin had no effect on age of daughters menarche when the two groups were comparable in occupation and educational status. The latest English and Scottish data show no significant differences in age of menarche between girls whose fathers are in different occupational groups which reflect, at least approximately, differences in income and the comfort of the home. The Hong Kong data already quoted show a difference of nine months between rich and poor, presumably because the poor are clearly much worse off than the poor in England. Studies of identical twins, non-identical girl twins and sisters clearly show that age at menarche is controlled by genetical factors when the environment is good (see Tanner 1962 p. 113). The average difference in age of menarche between identical twins is 2 months, and between non-identical twins, or between sisters, it is 10 months. Hence we must suppose that the genetical threshold for Chinese is below that for English, and perhaps that the threshold for East Europeans is below that for West Europeans, unless some unidentified climatic difference between the groups is responsible.

Perhaps one of the most convincing arguments for nutritional causes is the example of the Lapps, who had practically the same average age of menarche, 16½ years, from 1870 to 1930, while maintaining intact their pastoral nomadic way of life. During the same period the neighbouring Norwegians, being settled farmers, lowered their age of menarche by nearly two years.

Hot climates used to be cited in the older literature as potent cause of early menarche. But the evidence for this seems chiefly anecdotal, and nobody nowadays supposes climate exerts more than a very minor influence, if any at all. Little more can be said until equally well-nourished groups are available living under greatly different climatic conditions. At present Eskimos and Nigerians have the same menarcheal age, but their diets are perhaps too dissimilar for a climatic difference to be distinguished. Eveleth has recently shown that American girls growing up in the hot humid environment of Rio de Janeiro, but retaining their American nutritional habits, have a mean menarcheal age strictly comparable to that of the same socio-economic group in the United States. The mean world temperature has been rising since the 1850s (until, it seems, about 1940 when the trend began to reverse); the polar ice caps have been melting and the glaciers of Norway and the Alps retreating. But on present evidence it seems unlikely that this general warming-up process has contributed significantly towards the earlier menarche of girls.

It has also been suggested that an increasing emphasis on sex is responsible for the earlier menarche, by a supposed effect of psycho-sexual stimulation.

There is no actual evidence to support this dubious view. Girls educated in co-educational schools have been compared with girls educated at single sex schools in Sweden and in Hungary, with absolutely no difference. But whether this constitutes a fair test of school days sex activity remains to be established. If psycho-sexual stimulation is the case, however, it starts in the nursery school.

The one thing that all authors find significantly related to age at menarche is the number of children in the family. The larger the number, the later the menarche and the less the height and weight at all ages, both of the earlier — and later — born children. In the Czechoslovakian data the menarche for children with 0 or 1 sib was 14.3; for those with 6 or more sibs 14.6. In England the same relationship holds.

The most obvious explanation of this sibling number effect would be nutritional; the more mouths to feed and children to bother about, the less well the feeding, and perhaps the general care, may be done. An alternative or supplementary explanation might be that children with more sibs get more diseases. The effect of childhood disease on growth is, however, uncertain.

Most childhood diseases are without effect on the growth of wellnourished children (see evidence quoted by Tanner 1962 p. 130). But persistent chronic disease operating upon malnourished children may be another matter; possible the removal of this could have helped create the childhood secular trend.

Even here, however, the evidence is largely negative; suppression of malaria in heavily parasitised populations has not noticeably increased rate or amount of growth (Tanner 1962 p. 134). Until we have much more evidence we can hardly lay the secular trend, either of children or of adults, at the door of lessened infection.

The adult trend

The adult trend may well have another explanation in whole or part. Undoubtedly in circumstances where severe chronic malnutrition is frequent the final adult height is affected. But the European trend may have a genetical explanation, first offered by Dahlberg.

Suppose that some degree of dominance occurs in the genes governing human stature; that is that on average the offspring of a tall and a short parent lies not exactly halfway between their heights but a little closer to the tall parent. The person with many heterozygotes amongst the genes influencing height would be slightly taller, therefore, than the average of persons with many homozygotes. If this is so then the increase of heterozygotes caused by the breaking down of genetical isolates, that is, of the tendency for marriages to be contracted between members of the same village community, would cause an increase in height. It has been shown in several West European communities that out-breeding has in fact increased at a fairly steady rate ever since the introduction of the bicycle.

There is also some direct, though not perhaps completely conclusive, evidence that outbreeding does increase stature in man. Hulse in 1957 found that grown-up sons of parents who came from different Swiss villages averaged 2 cm taller than sons of parents both of whom came from the same village. Similarly Mange has shown that amongst the Hutterite religious isolate in North America, persons whose parents represented the degree of inbreeding of first cousins averaged about 3.5 cm shorter than persons whose parents were unrelated. Kherumian and Schreider showed that the adult height in different French regions was significantly and inversely correlated with the degree of inbreeding in the region. Genetical causes may explain at least a part of the trend in adult height; whether they can explain it all is more doubtful, since the change towards outbreeding seems unlikely, on the figures given above, to be responsible for an increase of more than 2 cm per generation.

Natural selection, on the assumption that tall people have more marriageable offspring than short ones, operates too slowly to account for the trend; and in any case, our scanty evidence on the subject contradicts that assumption.

Implication of the trend

It is unnecessary to detail the implications of the trend towards earlier maturation. The chief ones lie in the field of education and social behaviour. The trend may perhaps contribute to the earlier age of marriage and the increased fertility rate, in that so far as we know the menopause has become later rather than earlier, thus increasing the total reproductive span, or, from a demographer's point of view, the woman's time at risk.

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STUDENT MOVEMENTS - A COMPARATIVE VIEW

by John E. Blewett



The lecturer John E. Blewett, S.J., Ph. D., adviser on education to Jesuit Superior-General.

One of the luxuries of those over 30 is to make comparisons between the ways of the youth of today and those of their own younger years. If one listens to the conversations of a cross-section of middle-aged people, it would seem that typically they judge that the ways of yesteryear were more humane, more civilized and civilizing, more productive of good than those of today. The recurrent theme of Hesiod's *Work and Days*, written more than two and one-half millennia ago — that times past were the age of gold and present times the age of iron — is not unknown today. The late Pope John XXIII described such *laudatores temporis acti* as "prophets of gloom" and refused to allow his work to be shaped by their counsels.

Man cannot escape looking before and after. Neither, if he is an alert citizen of today, can he run away from making comparisons between conditions in different parts of the contemporary world. With much fear and no little trembling, I would like today to share with you some thoughts on one much publicized segment of modern life — student movements, at the university level. I say "with fear and trembling" because it is not a simple task to make the intelligent comparisons on student movements which are needed today. Further, the number of books and articles on student movements in individual countries is so large that only a team of specialists working in unity can hope to keep abreast of them. What I propose to do is to focus on some of the

elements in student movements which must be considered in order to arrive at a valid appraisal of them and then to suggest what I think are some of the meanings of student movements. Since our papers in Europe supply us with considerable data about student movements in this part of the world, I will lean rather heavily in my presentation on data drawn from the Americas and Asia and, within Asia, chiefly from Japan. I do not pretend that my thoughts are entirely original; nor that they are conclusions drawn from rigorously scientific studies. Much of my data comes from interviews with professors, students, and administrators in more than a score of countries and from fairly careful study of major written appraisals from the Americas and Japan. I begin, then, with a consideration of some of those sociological and psychological elements of student movements which are central to any reasoned judgment concerning them.

Elements in Student Movements

1. The sheer *increase in numbers* of university students in almost every country of the world during the past twenty-five years has influenced almost every aspect of university life, including very definitely organized student movements. In 1968-69, for example, over 40 percent of the group between the ages of 18 and 23 in the United States is engaged in some form of education at an institution of higher learning. Thirty years ago, as the world tottered on the brink of war, less than 15 percent of the comparable age group was so engaged. In such circumstances, it is more difficult for university students to think of themselves as a professional elite, set apart for the austere work of learning. One becomes a face in a crowd, a number on an IBM card, a member of a mass. If there is no comparable increase in the number of qualified professors, — and such is the situation in many countries — students may with reason judge that they are wasting time or are being victimized by their elders who encourage them to seek a university education but fail to provide the necessary means for it. In India and Japan, for example, many students fear that at graduation they will become merely additional ciphers in the ranks of the intellectual proletariat. To be rootless is not easy for the human person at any time in life; to face a life wherein one cannot be employed in work for which one has been prepared is to face a bleak and psychologically rootless future. This outlook on life haunts university students in many lands and helps to condition them for the type of wild frenzy about which we may read in our newspapers: riots in Calcutta, rebellion against government in Dacca, boycott of classes in Lima.

One of the best starting points for understanding and evaluation of student movements in any country is, then, the demographic situation; more specifically, the relationship between numbers of students and professors, especially full-time professors for the past 25 years; the percentage of university students in the total age-group between 18 and 23 during the same period of time; finally, the percentage of graduates employed in the field for which they were educated. If students have increased in number more rapidly than professors; if a larger percentage of university-age youth is in school today than 25, 10, or 5 years ago; if a smaller percentage of graduates is meaningfully employed than formerly, you can conclude that students in such a situation, if organized, will be active in ways that their parents do not understand or approve of.

140 2. The university student today in almost every country is much more aware

of and responsive to the larger social context in which he lives than were his parents. This *enlarged awareness*, then, is a second characteristic which one must be mindful of in studying student movements, for it means that, psychologically considered, today's generation of students, at least in the non-Communist world, is related to its surrounding environment in ways that often bewilder their parents. Note too that this awareness embraces a much wider sweep of our planet than that of even a few years ago. Students in Rome, Paris, Buenos Aires, Boston, or Tokyo learn through newspapers, journals, the radio and television receiver, and personal travel about conditions in areas far away. The revolution in the communications industry occurred in large measure *after* the parents of today's students finished their education. Today's students were born into and nurtured by the new media. Depending on the quality of television reportage in their country, they may be psychologically as identified with the war in Vietnam, the effects of inflation in Brazil, or student riots in another country as they are with the grass and concrete of their own campus.

At its best, this enlarged awareness can lead university students to seriousness in their studies, if they see them somehow related to the larger social issues of the day. At its worst, it can lead them to an impatient disgust with the world around them, a rebelliousness against the parental generation and the "system" which seems to have generated or supported the stupidities of war and prejudice, and to an anarchistic desire to pull down the social structures of today in the hope that they will be replaced by more paradisaical ones. The feeling of alienation from adult society which seems so prevalent among leaders of those student movements bent on the destruction of today's social structures has been nourished, I would venture to generalize, by their being "tuned in" to a world of communications able to feed them information far more easily than the wisdom to evaluate it.

In Japan and the United States, perhaps the two most technologically advanced countries in television, coverage on the war in Vietnam has been far more extensive than in other countries. Literally, the television screen serves a visual diet of bombing, burning, shooting, and dying. Such scenes may recall to Japanese and American parents something of their own experience in the 1940's. To many younger people, including leaders in the student movements of those countries, it prophesies rather than recalls, and the prophetic proclamation is that of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse.

In December, 1968, I walked through three university buildings in Tokyo which had been held for several weeks by a group of dissident activist students. During those weeks the students had formulated their policy of destruction and revolution within the buildings and used them as a barricaded center from which to send out their groups armed with staves to keep the entire campus in turmoil and to terrorize other students. Less than 5 percent of the total student population in this single university, this group of terrorists had been able to upset the normal life of the entire institution. At the request of the university authorities, police were summoned to expel the students after all efforts at discussion and negotiation proved fruitless. My walk through the buildings took place a few minutes after the expulsion while the fumes of tear gas were still strong enough to drive you frequently to the windows for gasps of air.

The systematic vandalism in the administration section I had expected as well as such bourgeois remains as empty whiskey bottles, cheap comic books, and sensationalistic weeklies. What most engaged my attention, however, were the *graffiti*. Quotations from Mao, Che Guevara, Marx and Lenin were scribbled on

walls and blackboards along with often scurrilous denunciations of the war in Vietnam. I saw no references to the occupation of Czechoslovakia. The enemy was the destruction in Vietnam and the "imperialistic" forces supporting it. The *graffiti* were extensions, it seemed to me, of images on the television screen, or looked at from another angle, the cry of an aroused youth which lives in a terror of war and The Bomb which no previous generation has experienced so piercingly.

3. If students are quite aware of the world beyond their campus, as I believe they definitely are, some are also increasingly conscious of their power as a group to effect changes both within and without their institution of learning. This *consciousness by students of their power* is a third element in student movements which I would like to consider with you. One of the characteristics of young learners in general is that they are more responsive to the fascinating pull of an idea than their elders. I am sure that all of us, in younger life, have been so intoxicated with a new idea that we found it almost incredible that others, especially adults, did not respond to it with our fervor. The inertia and ennui which the loom of time weaves into our years does not normally make its appearance in early life. The ability to play with ideas, like the rising power of the sexual impulse, brings home to a young person that he does enjoy creative power. So long as the number of university students was comparatively small and the focus of their interest on graduation and the adult life to which it admitted one, this creative power of youth was concentrated on purposes which were approved by the adult community. Students organized themselves for a variety of purposes, but almost all were related to the rather individualistic goal of their own improvement. Indeed, even today most university students are more concerned to complete their studies and graduate than to unite in order to seek reforms, either within the university or within society. When, however, a significant number, conscious of their power in a unified organization, do actually unite, they can form a force which, though it will vary from country to country, can significantly influence events.

Usually, in technologically less developed countries such as those of the third world, a student organization becomes involved in the political life of the nation in one way or other. Since the headquarters of the organization and often the majority of members are located in the political capital, student leaders of the organization, thinking that they represent the brains of the nation, will make demands on governments, wheel and deal with political parties (where they exist), and carry on much like politicians. Since, normally, students can have little or no direct influence on national policy through voting, they can be persuaded, when organized, to seek to achieve their ends through demonstrations, protests both violent and non-violent, and all the other forms of mass movements. Where the leaders are simply students, one often finds that they are under pressure to win some victory, because their term of leadership is quite short. Where the leaders are students cooperating with non-student, off-campus organizers of a shared ideological persuasion, they can be persuaded to make demands or remain quiescent in accord with instructions from outside. In both situations members of the politically oriented student organizations are appealed to by their leaders to retain their distinctive *unity as students* rather than to disappear within political parties or other organizations. This does not mean, of course, that student organizations will act in the political field in isolation. They may cooperate for a specific objective with elements of the army, as in Indonesia in 1965; with labor unions as in France

in 1968; or with a charismatic leader, as did Indian students with Gandhi during and after World War II.

4. *Leaders of student movements* seem to come more from humanistic fields, such as literature, philosophy or history; or, where social sciences are recognized as academic disciplines, from one of the social sciences; rather than from faculties of engineering, science, or medicine. Quite likely this phenomenon is to be explained both by the greater academic demands made on the latter group and by the more person-oriented type of studies pursued by the former. In those countries where university students are able to participate in cultural or athletic activities sponsored or approved by the institution, it is from the ranks of students in activities such as debating, drama, and journalism that support for organized student movements is derived. The student sportsmen seem, typically, to be much more sympathetic to university faculty and administrators in disputes concerning university policies *ad intra* and less concerned with political causes outside the university.

5. Although in passing I have stated that *student activists* normally form only a *tiny percentage* of the entire student body or of the organized student movement within the student body, I would like to repeat that statement as I conclude this listing of some of the major points to consider in a study of student movements. This point should be stressed because the contrary impression can easily be given by mass media.

I have made no pretense of presenting a rigidly scientific study of student movements. Nor now do I make any apology for listing a series of reflections and questions on their meaning and our attitudes concerning them. If I reveal some of my own attitudes, it is by way of invitation to discussion that I do so. Today as when Socrates first formulated the words, it is true that "the unexamined life is not worthy of man". And can one examine life without discussion and interchange of ideas?

a) The rapid expansion of the university student community in almost every country of the world during the past one-quarter of a century of uneasy peace means that youthful energies are geographically concentrated in non-military ways as never before in history. One of the major tasks of leaders of every kind and of opinion makers, it seems to me, should be an awareness of the implication of this fact. An increasing percentage of the national income should be made available through legislative action and voluntary contribution to improve the quality of university education while the social value of the university professor should be highlighted in various ways. The ingenuity which historically leaders have manifested in mobilizing young men for purposes of war must show itself in finding what William James used to call "the moral equivalent of war".

b) Improvement in the quality of university education means different things in different countries. As a minimum, it would seem to mean that students should be given equal treatment with cars and tinned goods, which are manufactured not by part-time tinkerers but by full-time professionals. In countries which have tolerated a system of university education in which there are few full-time professors, lectures are canceled with no previous notice given to students, or advancement from one class to another made dependent on the whim of instructors rather than on objective criteria, bold and deep reforms cannot be

postponed. In countries where student participation in the responsibility of governing some parts of university life has not been recognized, the reasons for this policy should be restudied and, hopefully, changed. This does not mean that students need or should have an equal voice with faculty and administrators in determining university policy; it does mean that they should be consulted in regular ways about major matters concerning their own education and that they should be invited to join in forming a more responsible university community.

In countries where university autonomy has come to mean a type of extraterritoriality for students, restudy of the status of autonomy is mandatory. If students rightly demand that their views on major social and moral issues, such as war, racial discrimination, and unequal treatment of smaller nations by larger ones, be considered, they cannot cling to the outmoded idea that they themselves have a right to misuse their university status to interfere with the right of others to study, to engage in political violence, or to turn the university campus into a training ground for guerrilla warfare. The young rightly demand sincerity from the adult world and rightly urge that rhetoric and platitudes voiced by adult leaders will not alleviate the woes of the poor and oppressed. The same type of logic should lead them to the conclusion that, especially in the third world, students cannot dissipate their energies in spasms of violent negativism and reject as "bourgeois" the quiet study and earnest reflection which alone will equip them to work for social justice. Adults rightly smell insincerity on the part of students who organize strikes against university leaders who are working for improvement in university standards.

c) In their demand for greater participation in university affairs, leaders of some student organizations are quite clearly pressing for unrealistic changes. Faculty and administrators who refuse to consider any student demands because some are excessive serve only to cork a bottle full of explosive gases. If, on the other hand, they take a "peace at any price" attitude and accede to such demands as will transform a university into a political caucus or a glamorous playground, they are failing the entire citizenry, not merely students and themselves. Precisely because it loves and is dedicated to serve today's youth, the parental generation as a whole and university faculty members in particular have no right to lose their nerve and abdicate responsibility. University students may accuse the generation of their parents and grandparents for having accepted the Moloch of war as a god to be propitiated, as has occurred in several European countries, or for having tolerated a system of implicit racism, as in the United States. Such accusations, wholesale, harsh, and merciless, may sting older people to anger. They should also stir it to reflection and willingness to confess their own shortcomings. They have led, in far too many countries, I fear, to a type of fatalistic belief that the immediate past has been a period of unrelieved evil and that the energies of the young are the only force that can clear a road to a better future. The attempt by Mao to insure in China the continuance of his own ideas by unleashing the youth to chant slogans and raise fists against "the enemies of the people" should serve as a grim reminder that a "cultural revolution" of the young can lead to new forms of tyranny. Parents and educators in countries where freedom prevails have no right, I repeat, to tolerate a Pharisaism of the young who condemn the evil in their elders without discovering its roots in their own hearts.

coupled with their increased knowledge of the growing disparity between the standards of living of the wealthy and poor sections of our planet can lead, it seems to me, to new forms of university life. Every human organization tends to grow rigid, inflexible, unadapted to emerging newness. Universities can claim no immunity from this tendency. They must be revitalized. Just as universities in the nineteenth century became centers of research, as well as homes for the transmission of knowledge, so today they can become links between the needs of people in destitution and the resources of those with intellectual and financial power. In India, some university colleges are "adopting" an entire village as a laboratory in which the lives of the inhabitants are improved by the assistance of faculty and students. In the United States, many universities have begun programs to bring their students into contact with the urban poor and uneducated. Many students are discovering life through tutoring bright but culturally deficient youngsters and, through this type of work, which is an extension of their own study, they are discovering themselves. Am I too sanguine in my belief that student movements find their full meaning in serving as gadflies to stir the entire university community to create a new type of university? The vitalizing role of the student movement is so important that it cannot be allowed to be captured by self-seekers or diverted to sterile negativism. On this note of hope I would like to end.



AWARDING OF FONEME PRIZES FOR 1969



The President of the Prize Jury, Avv. Dr. Adrio Casati (fourth from the left), illustrates the aims of the FONEME Prizes.

Introduction to the awarding of the FONEME Prizes for 1969 by the President of the Prize Jury, Avv. Dr. Adrio Casati.

I really don't think any comments are necessary to link that part of our Congress which has just taken place and the ceremony when Prizes will be awarded, which is about to follow.

I should like to thank warmly all the Authorities present for the concluding ceremony. Authorities representing His Excellency the Prefect, His Excellency the Corps Commander, the Milan Director of Education, and the Consular Corps officials.

Well, according to the invitation program, a speech by Avv. Casati, President of the Jury for the Awarding of Prizes, was announced for 11:45 this morning. I might as well tell you at once that this speech will not be delivered since it seems to me of far greater importance to hear the introductions explaining the underlying motivations in the award of gold medals rather than words which, even if they are delivered with passion and enthusiasm, could not presume to have the same significance and fascination as those you are about to hear: words dedicated to people about to receive these awards, and to the motives which have promoted them.

I should also like to add that the fundamental motive behind these prizes has been inspired by sincere and deep feelings of *gratitude*.

Gratitude, which our FONEME Association wishes to express through these Awards for studies of such delicate and profound nature; a gratitude which is meant to communicate to you the extent to which we consider your studies and activities indispensable, necessary and in line with modern society.

We might even go so far as to say that it is the type of *gratitude* which is not often expressed in the midst of modern society, which can no longer find time for romantic sentiments.

As a matter of fact, as these thoughts come to my mind, I cannot help remembering my activities for many years as a public official, here in the Province of Milan, during which time I often observed and pointed out how important it is for men to meet and *initiate a dialogue* or at least prepare themselves seriously for this *dialogue*. This is all the more essential today, when these men, as you have heard from all the preceding reports, continue to be bombarded and provoked by a series of manifestations which unfortunately can eventually transform their character and humanity.

And so, if I have chosen to recall my past experiences as a public official, I have done this with the intent of affirming my own, personal gratitude, towards all those who are contributing to the renovated basis of a new society, and to assure you of my conviction that your studies are truly indispensable, because no substitution for them can be found in other disciplines.

Society may undergo various phases of transformation, but in paving the way for this process man needs lengthy preparation, requiring the support of many, and in particular, dear Cavaliere del Lavoro Nello Meoni, the support of private enterprise, since Public Assistance — as you have so often pointed out — can do a lot to form citizens, but at a certain point, the fantasy of private individuals must come into play, leading to an up-to-date and scientifically valid preparation, such as FONEME aims to achieve in connection with the fundamental problems facing us today and relevant to our future. While we thank those of you, who are about to receive our FONEME Awards, we should also add: you may rest assured that your research-studies and concrete achievements can be considered as essential, on a world-wide basis, and that these few words, as the expression of our gratitude, are meant to enhance their full value.

In view of this, you may now understand more readily why I have limited myself to only a few considerations and will now ask our Commander Rondoni to read the motives which have led to the Awards on the program today. At this point I should like to ask you all, including the men and women about to receive the Awards, to stop and consider the achievements they have attained; in most cases it involves a life-time dedicated to humanity.



The gold medals delivered to the prize-winners.

FONEME PRIZE 1969
awarded to Dr. FRANCO BRAMBILLA



The President of FONEME, Cav. del Lav. Nello Meoni, gives the Prize to Dr. Franco Brambilla.

Dr. Franco Brambilla thanked as follows:

I really feel very embarrassed at taking the microphone, because I don't feel that I am on the same level as my two colleagues this year or the three who preceded us last year and this leads me to query the merit of the prize which has been given me in that:

- it is to the Rotary Clubs of Milan and those of the other towns in Italy where IARD has come to life that the credit must be given for what has been done under IARD's name;
- it was not I who originated this project but, in the now distant 1960, my friend Prof. Pierpaolo Luzzato Fegiz, known to many of you by reputation and for his fine mind;
- those who have actually done the constructive work, entering into and working in the schools, in contact with the children and their families, are the team of specialists and their collaborators.

My objection is therefore to FONEME's Statute which provides prizes only for individuals; if, instead, it had been possible to take the entire Association IARD into consideration, then that whole collection of talent would have received its rightful recognition and I would have felt much more at my ease.

My task has been that of ensuring liaison between different environments and mentalities, seeing that the work proceeded under a sound administration and in spite of the errors involved in all pilot projects (here the rule applies that the more mistakes one makes, the more one learns!), above all in the choice of staff and in the difficult matter of getting them to work smoothly together: those of you who have had much to do with professors will appreciate that this is no easy job!

When we began, some of our postulates seemed utopian. To-day, almost at the conclusion of three triennial cycles, we have the satisfaction of seeing that all our formulas have received official sanction, that they have entered into current speech amongst those concerned with an "integrated" school in the true sense of the word, based on intelligent, liberal and practical concepts. Then as regards the actual application of the law or regulation, whichever it may be, that is another matter . . .

But the experience we have gained in psycho-educational and social assistance, in work with the families and communication between families, pupils and teachers, entering fully into class counsels; the experience we have had in the so-called cultural enrichment groups and in remedial classes on certain subjects; moreover, the wealth of information acquired in the formulation and administration of the various generic or specific tests, as a supplement to the other elements necessary in predicting the children's capabilities; not to mention the valuable information collected with regard to bursaries which are of a completely new type and different from those granted by the State (suffice it to cite the example of achievement in Italian, which must be treated with great care when the child comes from a poor family and which, instead, is a determining factor in the granting of most State bursaries); all this leads us to believe that we may reach a point where we shall be able to give valid assistance to those who are and will in future be concerned with these problems, on the assumption of course that we succeed in drawing up adequate documentation on what we have already done.

It is indeed in view of the efforts of so many excellent colleagues — education experts, psychologists, social service workers, test administration personnel and group leaders — that I have agreed to accept this prize, in the name and on behalf of Association IARD which really deserves the moral and material benefits deriving from it; it is therefore the gratitude of these colleagues which I wish to add to my own, sincerely and in all humility.



The parchment with motivation of the FONEME Prize awarded to Dr. Brambilla.

Because of his awareness of wasted intellectual and cultural values due to economic difficulties, FRANCO BRAMBILLA

chose to use his great capacities as organizer in serving his country, Italy, and its schools in particular, in order to offer young people of modest social origins the same equality of opportunity enjoyed by others, both in their everyday life and in their work.

Assisted in his task through the fervent help of the Milan Rotary Club and with the backing of the scholastic authorities concerned, he founded

"PROGRAMMA I.A.R.D."

(Discovery and Assistance of Gifted Children) whose aim is to investigate and put in practice ways and means leading to more efficient methods of scholastic assistance.

Young students, still in the compulsory school age-group, showing particular merit, selected in collaboration with their teachers through severe tests, are assisted both in their social and scholastic development through study-groups and cultural clubs.

The activities of "Programma I.A.R.D.", a concrete example of which is given by the 250 scholarships awarded so far, have radiated beyond Milan to many other localities all over Italy, and will soon be extended to primary schools through investigations promoted by the Bernard Van Leer Foundation.

FRANCO BRAMBILLA is awarded the 1969 FONEME PRIZE

FONEME PRIZE 1969
awarded to Dr. phil. MARIA EGG



The President of FONEME, Cav. del Lav. Nello Meoni, gives the Prize to Dr. phil. Maria Egg.

After receiving the prize, Dr. phil. Maria Egg expressed her feelings with the following words:

Mr. President, from the bottom of my heart I thank you for this award; I accept it with pride and gratitude on behalf of mentally retarded youth, to whom I have dedicated my life.

I am quite aware of the fact that it is not at all natural to award a prize to someone who has done nothing more but serve mentally retarded youth. In this field we come up against great differences in attitudes: if a young man is blind or paralysed, he will be considered with compassion and sympathy, but if a young man is mentally retarded he will be treated as an idiot or an imbecile at best.

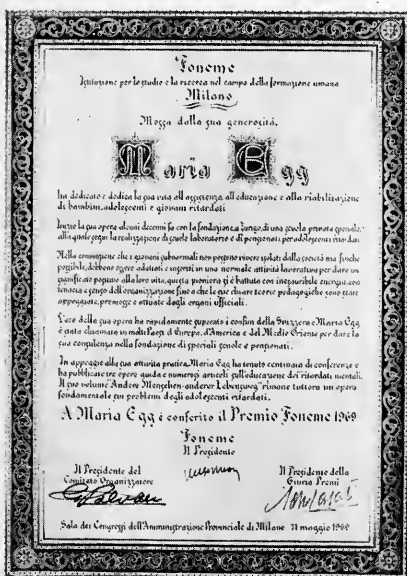
Thirty years ago, you probably would not have considered awarding me this prize, since thirty years ago even one of the greatest psychiatrists in my country put this question to me: really, Dr. Egg, an intelligent person like you, haven't you been able to find better ways to spend your time than to spend it with similar children? — Well, I've never found better ways, right up to this moment.

Even today, young people who are mentally retarded can still be considered as the disinherited in society. In awarding me this prize, FONEME has acknowledged the fact that these young retarded people are first of all young peo-

ple and that they too belong to the human species, that they too belong to that part of creation who, it was written, was created in the image of God. Let no one tell me that they are very imperfect images of our Creator, since we too can be considered as imperfect images. If we were to use the scale of absolute perfection in the eyes of God, in order to measure them, the difference between myself and a young mongolian subject would be so small that it would not be worth mentioning.

In thanking you once more, I should like to make the wish that these mentally retarded individuals should be given the opportunity to lead the life of a human being in all countries, including Italy. In conclusion I can only say that my most fervent hope is that one day this wish will be realized in Italy as well as in all countries of the world.

The parchment with motivation of the FONEME Prize awarded to Dr. phil. Egg.



Inspired by her generous nature
MARIA EGG
 has dedicated all her life to the assistance, education and rehabilitation of mentally retarded children, adolescents and young people.

Her life-work began some decades ago when she founded a special private school in Zurich, followed by vocational training workshops and boarding-schools for mentally retarded adolescents.

Inspired by the conviction that these young mentally retarded subjects cannot live isolated from the rest of society, but should be rehabilitated and trained to do some type of work in order to give positive value to their life, this pioneer persevered in her fight with relentless energy, with tenacity and a fine sense of organization, until her lucid ideas in the field of pedagogy were encouraged, backed and put in practice by the responsible official organs.

Her fame spread rapidly beyond the boundaries of Switzerland, and Maria Egg has often been summoned as consultant in projects related to special schools and boarding-schools in various countries of Europe, in America and in the Middle East. In order to substantiate her practical work, Maria Egg has held hundreds of conferences and published three guide-books and numerous articles on education methods related to mentally retarded subjects. The book she wrote entitled "Andere Menschen-anderer Lebensweg" (Different way of life for different people) remains to this day a fundamental work on the problems of mentally retarded adolescents. MARIA EGG is awarded the 1969 FONEME PRIZE.

FONEME PRIZE 1969
awarded to Prof. ERIK H. ERIKSON



The President of FONEME, Cav. del Lav. Nello Meoni, gives the Prize to Prof. Erik H. Erikson.

Thanks speech of Prof. Erik H. Erikson

Signor Presidente, Signore e Signori,

Posso esprimere la mia gratitudine per questo grande onore soltanto in italiano. Per di più, come spiegherò fra un momento, l'Italia è stata molto importante per la mia formazione. Difatti, in un senso molto speciale, l'Italia ha reso più *umana* la mia formazione. Ma ora che ho espresso in italiano quanto sono riconoscente, i problemi della pronuncia essendo quelli che sono, forse loro mi saranno più riconoscenti se continuo in inglese.

Ladies and gentlemen: If I say, as I must, that I accept this honor with humility, some of my students would no doubt suspect me of a ceremonial pretense. If I *accept* a medal made of gold, and a prize of money, why pretend that I do so with humility? The fact is that humility on occasions like this expresses the debt we owe to our teachers — in my case, above all, Sigmund and Anna Freud and also August Aichhorn who deserves special mention among the pioneers in the treatment of juvenile delinquency; and to our colleagues, a select few of which have addressed us yesterday and this morning. But today, and in this context, humility also conveys a very real sense of embarrassment and awe before the specter of today's youth. Are these really the young people we have been writing about? Yes and No. Each of us can hope to make only one step in human awareness, be it a big one or a small one, and that step would not be ours if it did not bring to some completion what our teachers have begun. But neither would youth be youth if it did not

always surprise us — and, indeed, itself — with ever new improvisations on the themes which we have come to recognize — improvisations often so flamboyant that we must doubt our concepts and ourselves.

Take my conception of identity formation. It is a psychosocial one — that is, it stands for a development in youth of a sense of confirmed selfhood within a vital communality. Such a sense we claim is as necessary for the rejuvenation of society as it is for each individual youth. This conception has been rather widely accepted not only for its verifiability in observation but also for its emphasis on individuality. Recently, however, some of our students have begun to protest this conception as an ideological trap which really attempts to enslave a man's identity to rigid social roles. These same protesting youths often hide their eyes behind dark glasses and cover the rest of their faces, from above and from below, with a mass of hair. They seem to seek and find a sense of identity in communes which deny the need for identity. Are they approving or disapproving us? They rightly remind us, I think, that we should not use developmental theories as moral dictates, and that we should be aware of the inescapability of ideological implications in our conceptual schemes — a fact which is of especial importance as we teach our conception of the human life cycle to people who are in it.

A few weeks ago, I was permitted to attend a meeting of leaders of black high school students in New York. I say "permitted", because my presence was by no means taken for granted. In fact, a young man spoke up sharply, with that icy politeness which addresses itself not to you as a person, but to what you stand for. "We know his kind", he said, "They observe us, write about us, and become famous. They don't care about *us*". A black adult tried to suggest that my work was helping to make Harvard a better place, maybe for the young rebel's son. The young man was sure, however, that his generation would see to it themselves that Harvard would be a livable place for blacks. And, indeed, the Harvard Faculty has just voted for an extraordinary influence of black students on their own college experience. We felt, I think, that black identity should be given a chance to free itself actively, thoughtfully, and responsibly from its borrowed status. And wherever we feel that we may entrust the students with such a task, we must not be afraid to take chances with our invested privileges.

You may want to know, however, how my confrontation with the young black man ended. I took him aside later. I expected no apology, because I knew his accusation to be so fundamentally true that it amounted to a verity. But I suggested that selfish as we both were, sooner or later we may yet find that we needed each other. This he acknowledged with three cordially condescending handshakes. Three was too many, I felt, to mean peace. But we had talked to each other. And in all such confrontations the question is always and on both sides whether the "yes" of mutual affirmation is bigger than the sum of all destructive and punitive negations. As I stand here, I see this young man looking at me, and many others, of different skin colors, some unrestful as he is, many not as unrestful as, maybe, they should be.

Ladies and gentlemen, we who are studying human development are in a privileged position in the face of such confrontation. If one has become aware, as this gathering is, of the indivisibility of the human life cycle; if one knows that human strength grows by steps, each more mature step relying on all the earlier and more immature ones; then one comes to acknowledge a certain equality of the stages of life. True, there are differences in function and in capacity on which, in fact, the vitality of these stages depends. But

we with our new vision of human life may well be able to help future generations to overcome the habit of mutual humiliation which so often is the result of the power struggles between men and women of different ages and endowments.

As clinicians, of course, we are also aware of the enormous dangers of historical, as well as personal, regression in youth in general, and especially wherever old moralities lose their affirmative powers before a new ethics has emerged. I will, therefore, offer for publication in the report of this gathering, a paper on student unrest which deals with the glaring ambiguities and deep ambivalences existing. I refer, of course, to those contradictory patterns of behavior and states of mind which, alternately or contemporaneously, occur in the same youthful individuals and in the same youth groups. Often youth seems to reach prophetically into a new renaissance of human spirit — a spirit which, like young David, stands against all over-size hyper-organization and all superarmament. They would extend to their own means of protest Michelangelo's phrase, "Davide colla fromba ed io co' l'arco".

At another moment, however, the same youths and the same groups seem to regress not only to a kind of ideological promiscuity devoid of any truly revolutionary design, but also to juvenile and infantile phantasies now mockingly projected on history itself and lived out in anarchic groups very tenuously united by a sense of communality. Thus, prank, show, and action often seem one. But, ladies and gentlemen, as we formulate these regressions, let us face it: we clinicians know more about how the child survives in these adolescents than how the adolescent survives in us adults — often survives as a split-off younger self, alternately idealized and repudiated, revived and murdered and, of course, projected on the young. We who are so quick to see parricide in the actions of the young, are all too slow in recognizing filicide in ourselves. This sinister word is not even to be found in my dictionary. Yet, it does not take physical banishment or maltreatment for the young to feel murdered. It is enough for them to sense that we are willing to acknowledge their identity only as long as it is fashioned after our own, whether our identity rests on the affirmation of what we are or of what we should have been, or on the negation of what we have tried too strenuously not to become. In a rapidly changing world, however, the covenant between young and old, on which all ethics is based, must find new forms of mutual affirmation.

Ladies and gentlemen, as I accept your prize in this spirit, I feel that another young man is looking at me. He is twenty years old, tall and very thin, has long blond hair and wears a corduroy suit. He has come to Italy from the North in order to learn how to paint; and Italy, spread before him in brilliant sunshine, makes it quite clear to him that he does not have the necessary talent. He is a "Bohemian", and on trying to mount a streetcar in Florence he is told that he cannot come aboard without a jacket. That, ladies and gentlemen, was over 45 years ago, and I was that young man. What did I do? First I wandered: for months I visited museums and churches, and roamed through the streets and over the suburban hills of Florence (one could do this then without fearing for one's limbs and senses), and I absorbed the *visible measure of man* created in the Italian Renaissance. Later, I emerged from psychoanalysis not a cured artist but a psychoanalyst. But the sense and the nostalgia, for measure and for form that Italy had given me has never left me and keeps convincing me of two things. First, that the field of human development reaches from the depth of the unconscious to the ex-

panse of man's architecture and technology: ever again, this depth and that expanse must be resynthesized so as to restore man's fragile balance. Here, let me say in passing, that I would hope that future meetings of Foneme may pay attention not only to the protests of youth, vital as they are against a threatening mechanization of life, but also to the work of the young in the service of a technological design for the future. And secondly, that we as teachers, while we must offer the young of today a maximum of understanding and of willingness to share planning, we must also fulfill our own destiny. As clinicians we must insist on clarifying massive regressions which are apt to destroy what human awareness has already been gained; while as teachers we must represent the structure of knowledge and the measure of man which we have absorbed in our lifetimes.

In this sense, signore e signori, la mia gratitudine all'Italia, a Loro.



The parchment with motivation of the FONEME Prize awarded to Prof. Erikson.

ERIK H. ERIKSON

was among the first to dedicate his activities as a scholar to the psychological problems which arise during childhood and adolescence, promoting and carrying out studies of fundamental importance, contributing to the healthy and equilibrated formation of young people's personality. His greatest contribution in this field was particularly felt in anthropological and sociological research where he introduced psycho-analysis as a new basis. His activities as a scientist, research-worker and professor, carried out in the most important Universities in the United States, including Harvard where he now holds the chair of professor of Human Development, have served as an illuminating guide and a basis of new orientations for many generations of students and numerous scholars all over the world. His books and essays have served also as fundamental text-books for educators, pedagogues, sociologists and for all those who interest themselves in the arduous but fascinating problem of human formation.

ERIK H. ERIKSON is awarded the 1969 FONEME PRIZE.



APPENDIX

The three Personalities who were awarded the 1969 FONEME Prize have kindly consented to draw up, at the Institution's request, a short memoir relating to their studies or field of activities in connection with the formative years of adolescence.

It is with great pleasure that FONEME then proceeded to have these three documents printed to be included in the Appendix of the present volume, so that scholars and all those interested in problems related to formative human experience could have access to them.

IL PROGRAMMA I.A.R.D.

di Franco Brambilla

PIANO GENERALE DELLA RELAZIONE

1) INTRODUZIONE STORICA E DELINEAZIONE DELL'EVOLUZIONE SUBITA DALLO I.A.R.D. NEL TEMPO

- a) Le origini
- b) Gli obiettivi
- c) Gli sviluppi
- d) Impegno finanziario
- e) Le borse di studio

2) ATTIVITÀ OPERATIVE

- a) Attività nella scuola
 - Notizie generali
 - Analisi sociologica di scuola
 - Individuazione dei bisogni personali degli allievi
 - Progettazione pedagogica
 - Attrezzatura didattica della scuola
 - Orientamento
 - Azioni terapeutiche speciali
- b) Assistenza ai borsisti
 - Notizie generali
 - Assistenza economica
 - Assistenza sociale
 - Assistenza pedagogica
 - Assistenza psicologica

3) ATTIVITÀ DI RICERCA

- a) Ricerca in collaborazione con la Bernard Van Leer Foundation
- b) Ricerche patrocinate dal C.N.R.
- c) Test di profitto matematico

4) INIZIATIVE COLLEGATE

5) PUBBLICAZIONI E STRUMENTI DI ACCERTAMENTO ATTITUDINALE MESSI A PUNTO DALLO I.A.R.D.

- a) Tests (reattivi attitudinali)
- b) Programma di monografie

6) RICONOSCIMENTI UFFICIALI

1) INTRODUZIONE STORICA E DELINEAZIONE DELL'EVOLUZIONE SUBITA DALLO I.A.R.D. NEL TEMPO

a) Le origini

Nel 1961 i *Rotary Clubs* di Milano hanno deciso di dare vita ad una iniziativa del tutto inedita nel nostro Paese, chiamata *Programma I.A.R.D.* (dove I.A.R.D. sta per Individuazione e Assistenza Ragazzi Dotati), con lo scopo di affrontare in alcune scuole medie inferiori, prese come campione, il problema delle « intelligenze sprecate » e di sperimentare metodi e strumenti per una più efficace assistenza scolastica, tenuto conto delle difficoltà ambientali ed economiche che ostacolano e quasi sempre interrompono gli studi dei giovani « capaci e meritevoli » ma privi di risorse.

b) Gli obiettivi

Il Programma I.A.R.D. ha iniziato la propria attività come ricerca preparatoria alla esplorazione del problema delle intelligenze sprecate. Le ipotesi di lavoro erano soprattutto volte a individuare tempestivamente ed efficacemente quei ragazzi che nell'ultimo triennio della scuola dell'obbligo avevano scarse possibilità di proseguire gli studi, pur possedendo buone doti di intelligenza, a causa delle gravi carenze economiche e culturali delle famiglie. Ipotesi correlata era quella di contribuire anche economicamente alla soluzione dei problemi di questi ragazzi.

La fase preparatoria è stata di conseguenza impegnata sia nella costruzione di strumenti diagnostici per una individuazione del patrimonio intellettuale e culturale dei ragazzi delle medie, sia all'elaborazione di programmi assistenziali che andavano dall'impostazione di circoli di arricchimento culturale, alla assistenza sociale, scolastica e familiare, all'erogazione di borse di studio.

La fase di sperimentazione diretta ha avuto inizio nel 1962 e, scartata l'ipotesi di interventi di *dépistage* a largo raggio sugli allievi delle scuole medie milanesi, si è preferita l'ipotesi dell'individuazione realizzantesi lungo il corso dell'intero triennio all'interno di precise strutture scolastiche, e attuata combinando le rilevazioni diagnostiche dell'équipe I.A.R.D. con le segnalazioni e i giudizi degli insegnanti.

Di conseguenza il Programma I.A.R.D., a partire dall'anno scolastico 1962-63, ha agito in alcune scuole medie milanesi con proprie équipes, incaricate di individuare ragazzi che, anche solo normalmente dotati, versano in precarie condizioni economiche e non potevano quindi progettare correttamente il proprio avvenire. Con le équipes di specialisti (psicologi, psicometristi e assistenti sociali) entravano nelle scuole prescelte anche gruppi di animatori, incaricati di proporre libere attività complementari ai ragazzi individuati e a tutti i compagni della stessa scuola che lo avessero desiderato: gli animatori avrebbero dovuto da un lato prefigurare uno dei contenuti previsti dal doposcuola della nuova scuola media, dall'altro attuare in modo estremamente atipico, ma se possibile efficace, una terapia pedagogica di recupero e sviluppo delle motivazioni culturali dei ragazzi meno stimolati dall'ambiente familiare. Questo intervento protratto per tre anni nella scuola media avrebbe dovuto consentire la mobilitazione delle risorse latenti e spesso coartate dei ragazzi appartenenti ai ceti meno privilegiati, così da consentire una valida proposta di studio al termine della scuola media.

c) Gli sviluppi

Questa fase di lavoro che, con progressive modifiche è tuttavia rimasta sostanzialmente uguale fino a tutto l'anno scolastico 1965-66, ha condotto ad alcune prese di coscienza:

— la scuola consentiva agli operatori I.A.R.D. l'attuazione dei loro programmi di individuazione e di arricchimento solo in cambio di prestazioni e di collaborazione anche per altri tipici problemi di psicologia e pedagogia scolastica (casi di disadattamento, indirizzi pedagogici di ordine generale, azione di recupero psicologico o culturale, ecc.);

— l'individuazione dei dotati provenienti da ambiente economico depresso comportava un attacco globale alla realtà scolastica nella quale tali ragazzi erano inseriti. Infatti, perché si potesse superare l'inerzia dei condizionamenti ambientali, e quindi si potesse sbloccare la situazione del ragazzo, occorreva potenziare la capacità formativa e culturalizzante della scuola intesa come realtà unitaria. In altri termini, in una scuola veramente orientata verso responsabilità formative e sociali, i ragazzi degli ambienti sociali più modesti avrebbero trovato le risorse per superare i propri handicaps; alla stessa stregua, solo in questo modo diverso di essere, gli insegnanti si sarebbero fatti promotori di veri programmi di individuazione, di stimolazione e di recupero;

— le osservazioni e le esperienze raccolte dagli operatori I.A.R.D. indicavano una gamma così complesso di bisogni e di carenze che dall'ambiente familiare e dalla comunità esterna pervenivano nella realtà scolastica, che si imposero programmi di ben più vasta portata che non quelli primariamente pensati. Così si spiega il viraggio compiuto dal Programma I.A.R.D. nell'anno scolastico 1966-67, verso una decisa attuazione di tutte quelle norme che la legge aveva previsto per la nuova scuola media, permettendo a pedagogisti e psicologi di risolvere in termini di struttura quei problemi che fino a quel momento erano costretti a risolvere in termini di casi individuali.

Nell'ottobre 1966 il Programma I.A.R.D. ha dunque deciso di abbandonare la pluralità di scuole nelle quali operava, per concentrare il proprio sforzo organizzativo e sperimentale in una sola scuola, proponendosi di istituire in essa i seguenti organi, allora del tutto inesistenti:

- a) doposcuola, esteso a tutti gli allievi che lo desiderassero, articolato in attività scolastiche di recupero, attività di sviluppo e ricerca, libere attività complementari;
- b) refezione e fase interscuola, concepiti come periodo integrativo essenziale tra le lezioni del mattino e il doposcuola;
- c) classi speciali (differenziali e di aggiornamento) per adeguare alle esigenze culturali della società i preadolescenti più gravemente handicappati;
- d) équipes di specialisti (psicologo, assistente sociale, pedagogo, psicometrista) operanti all'interno della scuola, e a tempo pieno;
- e) realizzazione, secondo lo spirito della nuova scuola media, dei consigli di classe come struttura educativa primaria;
- f) educazione degli insegnanti alla responsabilità di orientatori, come singoli e come consiglio di classe.

d) Impegno finanziario

Riteniamo un fatto contingente e soltanto significativo come indice delle carenze della politica scolastica centrale, il formidabile sforzo finanziario sostenuto dal Programma I.A.R.D. per organizzare e mantenere in vita le

strutture sopraelencate, senza aiuti di sorta — né sollecitati né offerti — da parte delle Autorità pubbliche. Lo I.A.R.D. per due anni ha gestito a proprie spese la massima parte del doposcuola; per più di un anno la refezione; fino ad oggi l'équipe degli specialisti, la consulenza didattica e pedagogica, i circoli di arricchimento culturale, l'assistenza alla refezione e ricreazione; ha sempre fornito, inoltre, il materiale diagnostico e molto del materiale didattico non tradizionale.

e) Le borse di studio

Parallelamente all'evoluzione delle attività I.A.R.D. nella scuola, un tempo destinate alla sola individuazione dei dotati, si è sviluppata un'esperienza relativa alle scuole medie superiori, meno complessa forse di quella vissuta nella scuola media, ma certamente molto indicativa per i problemi che gli adolescenti devono affrontare uscendo dalla scuola media dell'obbligo.

Al termine della scuola media inferiore, il Programma I.A.R.D. ha sempre assegnato — a titolo sperimentale — borse di studio a ragazzi capaci e meritevoli di proseguire gli studi, ma impossibilitati a farlo per ragioni economiche. L'assegnazione della borsa di studio, effettuata sulla base del complesso processo di individuazione, è stata fin dall'origine integrata da un programma di assistenza sociale, culturale e psicologica ai borsisti. Tale programma ha rapidamente raggiunto una notevole costanza di metodi e come tale ha consentito la raccolta di una cospicua documentazione sulla realtà scolastica degli studi medi superiori.

L'evoluzione, in questo settore, è stata sensibile, soprattutto perché si è arrivati ad una più precisa definizione del concetto di ragazzo dotato: dall'immagine del superdotato — brillante e affermato nella scuola — si è infatti passati a quella del ragazzo anche soltanto normalmente dotato, ma comunque meritevole di continuare gli studi, bloccato nei propri progetti e aspirazioni da uno o più motivi di carenza: economica, famigliare, culturale, motivazionale.

L'attenzione e l'interesse dello I.A.R.D. si concentrano, di conseguenza, sul giovane appartenente a quelle frange sociali depresse e sottoculturalizzate. Uguale è l'impostazione dei programmi di orientamento professionale o universitario dopo il diploma di scuola media superiore.

2) ATTIVITÀ OPERATIVE

Per chiarezza, suddividiamo il discorso in due parti:

- a) attività nella scuola media
- b) assistenza ai borsisti

a) Attività nella scuola media

— Notizie generali

Lo schema più complesso assunto dall'attività della scuola media (cioè quello attualmente esemplificato presso la Scuola Media Statale Piatti) consiste nel: doposcuola, refezione, interscuola, classi speciali, assistenza specialistica dell'équipe, potenziamento dei consigli di classe.

Sempre schematicamente si potrebbe indicare in modo differente l'impianto

delle attività nella scuola media, cioè additando alcune grandi direzioni concettuali che, integrandosi, modificherebbero la consapevolezza educativa della scuola media stessa.

Queste direzioni sono la rilevazione attenta e costante delle evoluzioni delle strutture sociali che condizionano gli allievi direttamente o indirettamente; la promozione di valori pedagogici formativi nella scuola, adeguati ai bisogni rilevati; l'attrezzatura didattica e pedagogica della scuola su linee complementari adeguate ai diversi livelli delle necessità di ogni allievo (attività di recupero scolastico, attività di sviluppo, educazione alla creatività, terapia di ambiente ai disadattamenti); la promozione di una coscienza e di una responsabilità all'orientamento dei docenti, e la cooperazione per programmi concreti di realizzazione dell'orientamento.

In altri termini, il programma I.A.R.D. per prima cosa ha cercato di promuovere nella scuola le strutture organizzative senza le quali non era possibile neppure proporre gli obiettivi indicati e di dare immediatamente a queste nuove strutture chiarezza di contenuto e strumenti reali per lavorare.

Da un punto di vista metodologico si può distinguere poi fra azioni svolte direttamente a livello del cliente (cioè del ragazzo) e azioni svolte soprattutto in termini di consulenza alla scuola.

Una volta costituite le strutture è risultato, come del resto si attendeva, che tutte le situazioni di lavoro acquistavano gradatamente una sempre maggiore significatività sui due versanti, quello della diagnosi dei bisogni e delle caratteristiche dei ragazzi e del loro ambiente, e quello della modifica pedagogica e terapeutica della loro esperienza scolastica. Tuttavia ogni struttura ha confermato di avere delle valenze più specifiche in alcune direzioni.

— *Analisi sociologica di scuola*

Questa azione, condotta primariamente dall'assistente sociale, ma con la collaborazione di tutti i membri dell'équipe, si è strutturata nelle seguenti fasi:

- a) indagine di quartiere, per la rilevazione delle caratteristiche urbanistiche e sociologiche del quartiere, inventario delle risorse potenzialmente complementari alla scuola e formazione di ipotesi di base sui bisogni educativi della popolazione del quartiere. Collegamenti con scuole inferiori e superiori, verifica delle risorse di lavoro locali;
- b) indagine sociologica sistematica di scuola: invio di questionario socio-economico a tutte le famiglie degli allievi, integrazione con notizie attinte dalle scuole elementari di provenienza e con notizie già esistenti presso la scuola. Elaborazione statistica dei dati ricavati, confronto con quelli delle leve scolastiche degli anni precedenti;
- c) indagine domiciliare o colloquio con i genitori nella sede scolastica, sia su richiesta delle famiglie sia su iniziativa dell'équipe. Controllo delle notizie provenienti dai consigli di classe, dagli insegnanti, dal servizio sanitario.
- d) collegamento con il locale centro sociale e con uffici o altre organizzazioni cittadine di servizio sociale;
- e) organizzazione di incontri di genitori sia nella scuola che presso il centro sociale.

Questa linea di azione ha un indirizzo certamente di tipo diagnostico, tuttavia il suo svolgimento ha provocato e tuttora persegue una modifica degli orientamenti pedagogici delle strutture nelle quali agisce: un intervento professionale presso le famiglie, presso le altre risorse del quartiere e presso gli insegnanti, e promuove inevitabilmente, con la formulazione di valutazioni e con la esplicitazione di bisogni, una maggiore presa di coscienza dei problemi e delle responsabilità educative proprie di ognuno.

— Individuazione dei bisogni personali degli allievi

Costituita da programmi di diagnosi psicologica condotti sistematicamente su tutti gli allievi della scuola e da programmi di rilevazione del livello culturale, per una verifica più razionale del profitto.

Tale azione è affidata in primo luogo a uno psicologo e a uno psicometrista, con l'integrazione dell'assistente sociale e degli altri membri dell'équipe. Si articola nelle seguenti operazioni:

- a) rilevazione di partenza del patrimonio intellettuale e culturale di base e dei principali orientamenti della personalità degli iscritti alla prima media. Conseguente a questa operazione è il *dépistage* dei ragazzi problematici in classi differenziali e di aggiornamento, prima dell'inizio dell'anno scolastico;
- b) psicodiagnosi individuale per tutti i casi non sufficientemente chiari o comunque segnalati (genitori, scuole elementari, consigli di classe, osservazioni degli animatori dei circoli e degli assistenti dell'interscuola);
- c) rilevazioni del profitto mediante prove oggettive o elaborazioni docimologiche di compiti;
- d) verifica sistematica dei quadri attitudinali in terza media;
- e) raccolta sistematica della valutazione degli insegnanti, mediante apposite griglie di osservazione;
- f) registrazione ed elaborazione dei voti trimestrali; confronto con i quadri attitudinali; esame delle indicazioni dei consigli di classe;
- g) integrazione dei dati così ottenuti con le informazioni fornite dalle famiglie sui problemi che la scuola suscita nel ragazzo e nei suoi genitori;
- h) collegamento col servizio sanitario di scuola per il controllo della situazione sanitaria del ragazzo.

Va da sé che queste azioni, presentate qui nel versante diagnostico, di fatto non sono mai separate dalla componente terapeutica che, già implicita nelle azioni elencate, acquista poi una particolare estensione e sistematicità di cui si parla più avanti.

— Progettazione pedagogica

Condotta soprattutto dal supervisore dell'équipe e dai consulenti pedagogisti, assistiti da tutti gli altri membri dell'équipe, cerca di tradurre in strutture e programmi le ipotesi derivate dalle diagnosi sociologiche e dalla conoscenza dei bisogni degli allievi.

Questo obiettivo è stato finora perseguito mediante le seguenti azioni:

- a) programmi di recupero scolastico, orientati soprattutto sulle abilità strumentali di base (italiano, matematica, lingua straniera);
- b) programmi, direttamente gestiti dallo I.A.R.D., di arricchimento culturale: destinati a introdurre nella scuola attività ed esperienze culturali rappresentative delle idee, dei problemi e dei valori attuali, ma finora assenti dai programmi scolastici. Attività come la pittura, la scultura, l'esecuzione di musica, la cinematografia, fotografia, le ricerche scientifiche, le ricerche sociologiche, la danza e ritmo, il teatro, il giornalino, sono concentrate in circoli guidati da animatori, oggi inseriti nella scuola come parte integrale del doposcuola;
- c) programmi di impostazione didattica della ricreazione interscuola, basati soprattutto su due esigenze, cioè quella di insegnare ai ragazzi a giocare (anziché a evadere nel movimento scoordinato), e quella di dare ai ragazzi una esperienza socializzante;
- d) consulenza sistematica al Preside su alcuni dei problemi educativi fondamentali: disciplina, educazione sessuale, rapporti con le famiglie, progettazione didattica, aggiornamento su problemi scolastici;
- e) sviluppo del discorso del recupero delle intelligenze, e del discorso

dell'orientamento, come inerenti alla responsabilità degli insegnanti;
f) diffusione e interpretazione sistematica dei dati di conoscenza degli allievi posseduti dall'équipe, e partecipati ai consigli di classe come base necessaria della progettazione educativa;
g) programmi di addestramento degli insegnanti alla osservazione psicologica degli allievi e alla stesura di profili psicologici articolati.

— *Attrezzatura didattica della scuola*

Le attrezzature didattiche sono state fornite dall'azione congiunta dei pedagogisti e degli psicologi dell'équipe, che hanno selezionato o prodotto gli strumenti in base a due esigenze fondamentali: l'esigenza di migliorare le capacità diagnostiche e valutative degli insegnanti e le esigenze di fornire materiale per una migliore individualizzazione dell'insegnamento.

In particolare sono stati prodotti e sperimentati i seguenti strumenti:

- a) prove oggettive, per la valutazione del livello culturale dei ragazzi in diverse fasi del triennio: una prova di italiano e una di matematica per l'inizio della scuola media, una prova di matematica per la fine del primo anno di scuola media, un test di algebra e uno di geometria per la licenza media;
- b) schede individualizzate di verifica e di esercitazione per la lingua italiana e per la matematica (rispettivamente per i livelli di I e di II media e di I media);
- c) griglie di osservazione psicologica dell'allievo ad uso di insegnanti, animatori, assistenti all'interscuola;
- d) questionario informativo per l'orientamento scolastico e professionale degli allievi.

Questi strumenti sono sempre stati presentati con una illustrazione dell'uso e dei metodi relativi, e con la comunicazione dei risultati rilevati al termine della loro applicazione.

Accanto a questi strumenti costruiti sulla base delle esigenze rilevate nella scuola, sono stati mobilitati altri mezzi didattici già reperibili sul mercato: strumenti musicali di vario genere, espressamente costruiti per l'insegnamento della musica; materiale vario di pittura per la pittura e la scultura, materiali per i circoli di fotografia e di cinematografia, materiale per ricerche di scienze (biologia, zoologia, botanica), materiale per l'attrezzatura di una biblioteca di consultazione.

— *Orientamento*

Condotta congiuntamente dall'intera équipe specialistica e dai consulenti pedagogisti, l'azione di orientamento è stata sempre concepita come un completamento e un rinforzo a quella fondamentale che dovrebbe spettare alla scuola come istituzione. In realtà la scuola ha dimostrato fino a oggi di preferire alla responsabilità dell'orientamento un'ampia delega e una incondizionata fiducia da darsi ai collaboratori specialisti. Pertanto questi hanno agito in una prospettiva di supplenza, fiduciosi che, mantenendo vivo il problema, si arrivi prima o poi a investire direttamente gli insegnanti.

Le azioni nelle quali si concretizza di fatto l'orientamento sono le seguenti:

- a) l'informazione a livello ragazzi, famiglie, insegnanti. Raccolta di dati sulle scuole medie superiori della città, su corsi e indirizzi vari di specializzazione professionale, sulle richieste più aggiornate del mercato di lavoro.

Incontri e interviste con specialisti sia nel mondo della scuola che nel mondo del lavoro, visite a scuole e a luoghi di lavoro;

- b) mobilitazione degli interessi e delle risorse dei ragazzi, discussioni di gruppo in classe, istituzione del « quaderno delle richieste » per raccogliere quesiti e problemi relativi all'orientamento, colloqui individuali e di gruppo coi

ragazzi e coi loro genitori, comunicazione e commento del profilo attitudinale su richiesta del ragazzo interessato, distribuzione di questionari sollecitanti;

c) mobilitazione delle responsabilità degli insegnanti nei consigli di classe, con questionari relativi ai ragazzi di terza media, coinvolgendoli nelle discussioni di classe;

d) elaborazione dei profili finali dei ragazzi: discussione con gli insegnanti della loro valutazione sul ragazzo, confronto col profilo psicologico, valutazione alla luce della realtà familiare, stesura del profilo finale sia per la commissione d'esame, sia per la famiglia;

e) indagini psicologiche e sociologiche approfondite per i ragazzi che presentino più gravi problemi di orientamento.

— Azioni terapeutiche speciali

Sono state condotte specialmente dall'équipe specialistica, psicologo, assistente sociale, neuropsichiatra, psicometrista, rispettivamente per due giornate lavorative settimanali, esclusa la partecipazione ai consigli di classe, con l'integrazione di uno psicoterapista per due ore settimanali. Tali azioni sono state indirizzate soprattutto ai ragazzi delle classi differenziali, ma non hanno escluso anche tutti quei « casi » che si manifestavano nelle classi normali nel corso dell'anno scolastico.

Possono essere così catalogate:

a) counseling individuale, a livello di ragazzi e di famiglie, a cura dello psicologo e dell'assistente sociale;

b) psicoterapista di gruppo, per i ragazzi più disturbati delle classi differenziali, a cura di uno psicoterapista di gruppo;

c) psicoterapia individuale più approfondita, a cura del neuropsichiatra - psicoterapista, per i ragazzi non idonei a un trattamento di gruppo;

d) prescrizione di psicofarmaci e di altre idonee terapie organiche, a cura del neuropsichiatra;

e) terapia indiretta mediante tecniche espressive di gruppo: pittura, teatro, danza e ritmica, scultura.

Per motivi che si illustreranno meglio successivamente, non è stato possibile istituire un gruppo di addestramento per gli insegnanti delle scuole speciali.

b) Assistenza ai borsisti

— Notizie generali

L'assistenza ai borsisti si è configurata come un settore operativo distinto da quello impegnato nella scuola media, per le diverse modalità di intervento e soprattutto per il diverso innesto nella realtà degli utenti del servizio. L'assistenza ai borsisti ha una continuità concettuale con le attività svolte nella scuola media, perché da questa rileva i ragazzi individuati come capaci e meritevoli di assistenza economica negli studi medi superiori, così come riceve tutte le informazioni relative ai ragazzi individuati.

Il settore operativo, che si occupa dell'assistenza ai borsisti, non è inserito in nessun nucleo scolastico preciso, in quanto i clienti, cioè i borsisti, sono distribuiti in tutte le scuole medie superiori, di qualsiasi indirizzo. Per questo motivo il servizio si è collocato concretamente nella sede centrale del Programma I.A.R.D., nella quale gestisce alcune attività e dalla quale dirama in tutte le scuole e presso tutte le famiglie dei borsisti i propri interventi.

Il gruppo degli operatori è costituito da una assistente sociale a tempo pieno,

una pedagoga a tempo parziale, una psicologa a tempo parziale, e numerosi insegnanti e animatori, tutti a tempo parziale. Il gruppo è appoggiato a un consulente medico esterno, per tutti i problemi che possono riguardare l'assistenza sanitaria.

Le azioni condotte dal settore operativo borsisti sono sintetizzabili come segue:

— Assistenza economica

Tendente a rimuovere gli ostacoli materiali alla prosecuzione degli studi. Tale assistenza viene decretata sulla sola base delle segnalazioni dell'équipe operante nella scuola media a una apposita commissione borse di studio. Le principali modalità di assistenza economica sono le seguenti:

- a) erogazione di borse di studio quinquennali, da L. 150.000 a L. 300.000 annue;
- b) erogazione di premi di studio o altri contributi per spese scolastiche, dalle 80 alle 100 mila lire annue;
- c) pagamento di collegi o internati in casi straordinari;
- d) contributo al pagamento di lezioni di recupero scolastico;
- e) assistenza nelle pratiche per il conseguimento del presalario, di altre borse di studio, di sussidi familiari vari, di prestiti sull'onore (per i borsisti già pervenuti all'università).

— Assistenza sociale

Soprattutto orientata a potenziare le risorse dell'ambiente nel quale è inserito il borsista, in particolare la sua famiglia e a mobilitare le risorse assistenziali della società, che potrebbero contribuire a risolvere i più gravi problemi economici e organizzativi dell'assistito.

Le azioni tipiche sono:

- a) colloqui col borsista e con la famiglia;
 - b) indagini domiciliari;
 - c) collegamento diretto o epistolare con Enti assistenziali o con altre organizzazioni cittadine;
 - d) counseling e trattamento diretto di casi familiari particolarmente gravi. I rapporti sono particolarmente intensi e sistematici con tutti gli Istituti medi superiori nei quali siano iscritti borsisti del Programma I.A.R.D.
- Lo scopo di questa azione è conoscere i criteri formativi e selettivi delle scuole e nel contempo offrire una collaborazione e un sostegno più razionale ai borsisti, in relazione alle valutazioni fornite dagli insegnanti.

L'assistente sociale visita periodicamente i capi di Istituti e da questi viene introdotta presso gli insegnanti dei borsisti. Le notizie così raccolte vengono comunicate ai ragazzi, discusse con loro e con le loro famiglie, e comunicate alla pedagoga del Programma I.A.R.D. affinché dia corso a programmi di sostegno scolastico adeguati ai bisogni rilevati nella scuola.

— Assistenza pedagogica

Si articola in due ordini di azioni: le une di recupero e sostegno scolastico, le altre di stimolazione e arricchimento, destinate a integrare gli strumenti culturali dei borsisti, che per definizione provengono da ambienti del tutto o quasi privi di risorse culturali.

Tale compito è affidato a una pedagoga, che coordina gli animatori dei circoli culturali e gli insegnanti dei gruppi di studio.

- a) Controllo del curriculum scolastico: preliminarmente alla impostazione dei progetti pedagogici è il costante aggiornamento della situazione scolastica dei borsisti, effettuato dalla pedagoga con colloqui diretti coi ragazzi, con

la raccolta e l'esame trimestrale dei loro voti, con la supervisione ad animatori e insegnanti dei gruppi di studio.

Tale attività condiziona quindi le scelte dei contenuti di cui ai punti successivi.
b) Circoli di arricchimento culturale, centrati su due obiettivi: quello di offrire esperienze culturali varie non scolastiche (storia dell'arte, fotografia, scienze, sociologia, ecc.) e quello di promuovere attitudini associative tra i giovani provenienti da esperienze scolastiche e famiglie diverse. L'animatore di questi circoli ha soprattutto la funzione di leader funzionale.

c) Gruppi di studio, centrati su materie più specifiche e di taglio decisamente scolastico. I gruppi di studio sono costituiti da 2-4 ragazzi, riuniti da un medesimo programma scolastico (carenza nell'una o nell'altra materia di scuola), che studiano e si preparano sotto la guida di un insegnante specialista nella materia. Ogni ragazzo può far parte anche di più di un gruppo di studio. Contrariamente a quanto avviene nei circoli, che sono completamente gratuiti, nei gruppi di studio il borsista dà un compenso orario poco più che simbolico, che ha soprattutto lo scopo di farlo sentire responsabile ed impegnato.

d) Lezioni individuali, destinate a borsisti che, per motivi diversi (passaggi da scuola, periodi di malattia, gravi carenze nel precedente curriculum scolastico, particolarità del bisogno scolastico) non possono far parte di alcun gruppo di studio. Per queste lezioni valgono i criteri retributivi di cui al punto c).

e) Attività culturali integrative, strettamente collegate all'attività dei gruppi di studio. Sono iniziative relativamente poco organiche, progettate dagli insegnanti dei gruppi di studio per integrare la parte puramente didattica del loro lavoro. Sono quindi qualche cosa di intermedio tra il gruppo di studio e il circolo di arricchimento e consistono in esplorazioni più approfondite di parti del programma, visite a centri di iniziative culturali, letture ispirate all'argomento delle lezioni.

Per tutte queste attività il Programma I.A.R.D. fornisce materiale didattico e strumenti di consultazioni. Ha inoltre predisposto schede di valutazione e di sintesi ad uso degli insegnanti, moduli di registrazione dei voti trimestrali, registri di raccolta di tutte le informazioni sul curriculum scolastico dei borsisti.

— Assistenza psicologica

Consiste essenzialmente in un lavoro di psicodiagnosi e di counseling per tutti i casi che, giunti all'attenzione dell'assistente sociale, degli insegnanti, degli animatori, oppure segnalati dalle famiglie e dalla scuola, abbisognano di un chiarimento sul piano psicologico o di un sostegno terapeutico.

I casi più problematici vengono depistati a specialisti.

Tale attività è svolta da una psicologa a tempo parziale, costantemente collegata con gli altri membri dell'équipe.

La preoccupazione dell'orientamento è costante, sia per riadattare i piani di studio alle circostanze e alle pressioni della situazione del borsista, sia per preparare la progettazione che il giovane deve fare una volta conseguito il diploma.

L'orientamento professionale o universitario viene fatto con le seguenti azioni:

a) raccolta e distribuzione di informazioni sulle carriere professionali e universitarie;

b) colloqui individuali e di gruppo con i diplomati, per discutere dei loro problemi di scelta;

c) raccolta di informazioni e di giudizi da parte degli insegnanti delle scuole in cui i borsisti sono iscritti;

- d) analisi delle risorse concrete e delle possibilità assistenziali capaci di facilitare i programmi dei ragazzi;
- e) organizzazione di incontri con esperti sia nella scuola che nel mondo del lavoro;
- f) eventuali accertamenti psicologici o medici più approfonditi, su richiesta dei giovani;
- g) collaborazione per reperire posti di lavoro o sistemazioni scolastiche consone con le scelte effettuate.

Questo lavoro è svolto congiuntamente dall'équipe operativa.

Gli specialisti di questo settore operano per buona parte del loro tempo in équipe: soprattutto per selezionare gli obiettivi educativi, la priorità delle azioni da svolgere, gli atteggiamenti da assumere nei confronti dei ragazzi, delle famiglie, delle scuole.

L'impegno di gruppo è ritenuto indispensabile metodologicamente per raggiungere quella unità operativa che la varietà e la dispersione delle situazioni degli assistiti tenderebbero a porre continuamente in crisi.

Si parlerà più avanti del valore dell'esperienza effettuata in questo settore: basti qui anticipare che questa esperienza consente due ordini di indicazioni generalizzabili:

- i problemi tipici di studenti di scuola media superiore soggetti a gravi condizionamenti socio-culturali ed economici;
- i problemi e le carenze sia organizzative che di contenuto delle nostre scuole medie superiori di ogni indirizzo.

3) ATTIVITÀ DI RICERCA

Accanto al settore operativo il Programma I.A.R.D. svolge un'azione di ricerca scientifica attuata da un'équipe di specialisti e di consulenti a livello accademico (psicologi, sociologi, pedagogisti). Questa attività sta acquistando sempre più importanza nell'ambito del Programma. Le ricerche attualmente in corso sono le seguenti:

a) Ricerca in collaborazione con la Bernard Van Leer Foundation

- Finalità della ricerca:

la ricerca si attua nell'ambito delle scuole elementari sul problema del disadattamento scolastico in collaborazione con la Bernard Van Leer Foundation, olandese.

Scopo della ricerca, che viene attuata in un campione di scuole scelte nella città di Milano, è:

- indagare sul problema del disadattamento scolastico e dell'underachievement, definito nel senso più largo come rendimento scolastico inferiore al potenziale intellettuale;
- individuare dei metodi di intervento a livello individuale e scolastico atti a compensare l'influenza dei fattori familiari e sociali negativi.

La ricerca ha avuto inizio con l'inventario degli strumenti disponibili in Italia e all'estero; la scelta dei tests da usare per l'applicazione collettiva al campione di 90 classi è stata fatta in base ai seguenti criteri:

- rispondenza agli scopi generali della ricerca;

— presenza di adattamenti e tarature italiane. Questa condizione si verificava per i tests di intelligenza, non per quelli di profitto. Altri non erano adatti per l'età considerata (frustrazione e frasi). In particolare per il livello di I elementare, tutti i tests si sono dovuti costruire ex-novo. Questo lavoro ha richiesto molte discussioni del gruppo di Ricercatori ed una applicazione preliminare degli strumenti di nuova costruzione o adattamento;

— comparabilità di tutti gli strumenti in età successive sia per permettere i confronti dei dati, sia per preparare il follow-up degli anni successivi;

— facilità di somministrazione. Per non svantaggiare i soggetti presumibilmente non addestrati al testing, si è rinunciato ai fogli di risposta, anche se questo aumenta il tempo della correzione.

• I Tests usati nella ricerca:

a) Mosaico di Gille (forma ridotta in I elementare, forma intera in IV e V). Si è effettuato un pre-test in quattro classi al di fuori del campione per vedere la correlazione tra le due forme. Poiché è risultata molto alta, si è scelta per la I° classe la forma ridotta, di cui esiste una revisione e taratura italiana a cura del P.A.S.

b) Cattell Culture Fair (forma 2° per la IV e la V elementare). Esiste una taratura italiana su 1000 bambini di Milano a cura della Clinica Neuropsichiatrica di Milano che l'ha usato sulla ricerca della dislessia.

c) Test di conoscenza di vocaboli e comprensione di lettura. Adattamento italiano del Metropolitan Achievement Test a cura dell'Istituto di Psicologia della Facoltà Medica di Milano e dell'Istituto di Psicologia di Pavia.

d) Test di calcolo. Nuova costruzione sul modello del Metropolitan Achievement Test.

e) Sociometrico: Moreno.

f) Disegno: Omino e famiglia.

g) Reazione a ostacoli e situazioni frustranti. Nel rapporto interpersonale con compagni di classe, con l'insegnante, coi genitori. Test di nuova costruzione sul modello Rosenzweig.

h) Frasi da completare riferite a vari atteggiamenti nell'area familiare e scolastica. Nuova costruzione.

i-l) Questionari per alunni e genitori.

m) Questionario per insegnanti.

• Campione Rappresentativo:

È stata compiuta dal gruppo Ricerca con l'aiuto di vari Consulenti la scelta del campione.

Il campione è così costituito: due scuole in un quartiere a livello socio-economico alto, due a livello socio-economico medio, tre a livello socio-economico basso, per un complesso di 90 classi e di 2800 ragazzi.

Sono stati presi contatti con le autorità scolastiche per illustrare gli scopi e le fasi della ricerca e per assicurare un corretto svolgimento del testing. In ogni scuola l'inizio del testing è stato preceduto da una riunione col Direttore e gli Insegnanti in modo da ottenere una partecipazione positiva.

b) Ricerche sotto il patrocinio del C.N.R.

(Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche).

1) Prima ricerca sul tema:

Indagine sui fattori socio-economici, culturali e attitudinali incidenti sul successo scolastico.

Non esistono nel nostro Paese ricerche del genere condotte entro un arco di tempo sufficientemente ampio (8 anni).

Alcune, condotte soprattutto nei paesi anglosassoni e scandinavi, pur fornendo preziose informazioni metodologiche ed utili ipotesi di lavoro di carattere generale, non forniscono indicazioni utili sul piano pratico per la radicale differenza delle strutture scolastiche e delle modalità didattiche e valutative. Con questa ricerca ci si propone di valorizzare in termini scientifici tutto il lavoro svolto dallo I.A.R.D. in questi anni sui condizionamenti socio-economici e culturali dei ragazzi.

Il materiale raccolto fino a oggi dallo I.A.R.D. è considerevole: informazioni di ordine attitudinale, scolastico, ambientale per alcune migliaia di casi.

Ci si propone di studiare il peso relativo di una certa rosa di fattori di tipo attitudinale, socio-economico e familiare, suscettibile di essere tempestivamente accertato, in ordine:

- al proseguimento degli studi oltre il periodo dell'obbligo;
- alla scelta dei diversi indirizzi di studio;
- al successo scolastico, considerato fino al termine delle scuole secondarie superiori.

Scopo della presente ricerca è infatti quello di fornire alla scuola italiana modi di rilevazione relativamente semplici e effettuabili su larga scala, tramite i quali gli operatori educativi abbiano indicazioni attendibili circa le probabilità di successo e insuccesso, di proseguimento e abbandono degli studi, di orientamento corretto o errato degli stessi, e ciò al fine soprattutto di poter predisporre tempestivamente i correttivi idonei a neutralizzare gli aspetti negativi delle prospettive emergenti.

2) Seconda ricerca Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche sul tema:

Indagine sulle cause dell'insuccesso scolastico di borsisti di scuola media superiore.

La ricerca si propone di individuare le cause dell'insuccesso scolastico in ragazzi intellettualmente dotati, appartenenti ad ambienti economicamente e culturalmente depressi.

Il problema appare rilevante, sia per la percentuale di insuccessi scolastici, sia per la complessità dei problemi di ordine sociale e culturale impliciti: problemi che si manifestano ogni qual volta si riesca a prendere contatto con qualcuno dei casi di fallimento scolastico.

Lo scopo della ricerca è di:

- accertare l'influenza che i gravi condizionamenti socio-economici e le altre possibili carenze ambientali hanno sulla efficienza scolastica di ragazzi con buona dotazione intellettuale;
- valutare l'incidenza dell'esperienza scolastica specifica (tipo di studi, caratteristiche degli insegnanti) sul fenomeno dell'insuccesso scolastico di tali ragazzi;
- valutare l'incidenza sul fenomeno di altri fattori di ordine personale (salute, disadattamento psicologico, errori di scelta e di orientamento) qualora questi non siano ugualmente riconducibili, così come l'insuccesso scolastico, ai condizionamenti ambientali e alla esperienza scolastica.

c) Ricerca relativa alle prove oggettive di conoscenza matematica

Lo spunto pratico per la costruzione di prove oggettive è nato dall'esigenza di rilevare il livello di preparazione dei borsisti iscritti al 1° anno di scuola media superiore, per poter prevedere le difficoltà scolastiche che avrebbero incontrato in matematica e organizzare i gruppi di recupero per i più carenti. Successivamente si è pensato di allargare gli obiettivi e il terreno della ricerca.

Gli obiettivi della ricerca sono:

— approntare un test oggettivo per la rilevazione delle conoscenze matematiche (in due forme distinte: algebra e geometria) basato sul programma dei 3 anni di scuola media, utilizzabile:

a) dagli insegnanti di III media per la diagnosi del livello di preparazione degli allievi al termine dell'anno scolastico, l'individuazione delle loro lacune e la conseguente formulazione di un ripasso sistematico in vista degli esami di licenza media;

b) dagli insegnanti del 1° anno di scuola media superiore per la diagnosi del livello di preparazione degli allievi all'inizio dell'anno scolastico, l'individuazione delle loro lacune e la conseguente formulazione di programmi di recupero a livello individuale e di classe;

— verificare il rapporto intercorrente tra acquisizione di conoscenze matematiche, rilevate oggettivamente, attitudini generiche e specifiche e valutazioni soggettive degli insegnanti (voti);

— documentare la diversità di preparazione in matematica fornita dalle diverse scuole medie cittadine e le diversità di aspettative dei vari indirizzi di scuola media superiore nei confronti degli standard minimi accettabili nell'acquisizione del programma di matematica della scuola media;

— saggiare la possibilità di introdurre nuovi criteri di definizione del successo scolastico nell'ambito della scuola media e della scuola media superiore.

4) INIZIATIVE COLLEGATE

Per Iniziative Collegate si intendono quei Programmi I.A.R.D. che sono sorti in varie città d'Italia settentrionale e i cui profili sono tracciati più avanti e che non comprendono pertanto lo I.A.R.D. Sud, attuato dall'IRI nella zona di Taranto, durante il triennio 1963-1969 e poi ripreso con qualche modifica (fra l'altro nella sigla, tramutata in ESAI) dal Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione.

Riteniamo doveroso sottolineare qui l'importanza che ha l'estensione del Programma I.A.R.D. a luoghi tanto diversi in Italia, caratterizzati dalle strutture sociali, economiche e culturali più varie.

A parte il significato morale che può assumere il fatto che altra gente abbia pensato di mobilitarsi (uomini e mezzi) per la scuola e a parte l'altrettanto grande significato che i promotori abbiano ritenuto di doversi avvalere dell'esperienza nata e raccolta a Milano, c'è l'enorme interesse per noi di conoscere attività che si svolgono in condizioni del tutto differenti da quelle della periferia di una grande città.

174 Così, mentre in alcuni casi noi abbiamo avuto la convalida e la conferma

di fatti e di acquisizioni realizzati a Milano, altre volte abbiamo visto portati a termine programmi che a Milano si erano dimostrati impossibili.

Nella storia dell'estensione di queste Iniziative, si è registrata dapprima una moltiplicazione piuttosto intensa nella Lombardia, nel Veneto e nel Friuli, oltreché — come si è già detto — a Taranto, poi una pausa tra il 1965 e il 1967, quindi dal 1968 ad oggi una proliferazione vivace, e ancora nel Veneto.

Da parte nostra, si è preferito questo tipo di sviluppo distanziato nel tempo per poter essere sicuri sulle possibilità della collaborazione e per poter offrire a tutti opportunamente una consulenza con interventi adeguati ai bisogni di ciascuno.

Cenni sulle singole « Iniziative Collegate » del Programma I.A.R.D.

— I.A.R.D. Monza

In quattro anni, dal 1964 al 1968, ha compiuto un ciclo di attività che si sono rivolte a due scuole della città, con un totale di 1.000 allievi circa, operando in stretta collaborazione con il Centro d'Orientamento Scolastico.

Questo Ente, al fine di evitare nelle due scuole interventi contemporanei per scopi affini, che avrebbero potuto portare nocimento alla vita scolastica, si attribui la responsabilità del settore psicologico oltreché quella dell'orientamento, che è di sua competenza, unificando i due ruoli.

Per conseguenza lo I.A.R.D. ha risentito di una programmazione un po' compressa, dovendo limitare gli interventi per una penetrazione che garantisce uno sviluppo armonico e unitario di tutti i settori.

Nel corso dell'anno scolastico 1968-1969 è stato svolto un Circolo Culturale per i borsisti, che sono stati inoltre assistiti da persone qualificate sia nell'ambito scolastico che in quello familiare.

— I.A.R.D. Carate-Seregno

A Carate lo I.A.R.D. ha trovato nella scuola « D. Alighieri » la sede del suo sviluppo durante la prima fase, cioè fino al giugno 1968.

Il Preside-Coordinatore dello I.A.R.D. e l'équipe tecnica hanno lavorato sempre con impegno ed entusiasmo allo sviluppo del Programma, trasferendo sul corpo insegnante la profonda fiducia dell'apporto culturale e formativo in favore degli allievi.

Sono stati selezionati in tre anni 11 borsisti, due dei quali licenziati, che sono sempre stati a un livello di rendimento scolastico molto alto.

Dall'inizio dell'anno scolastico 1968-1969, lo I.A.R.D. per motivi di impedimento presentati dalla scuola di Carate, si è trasferito presso la Media Manzoni di Seregno, presieduta da persona molto seria ed entusiasta dell'iniziativa.

Fortunatamente l'inserimento è risultato abbastanza facile, date queste premesse e data la maturità degli insegnanti, che sono ottimi collaboratori del Preside.

Due fra essi si sono dimostrati ottimi animatori. I due Circoli Culturali, uno umanistico e l'altro scientifico, hanno riscosso un buon successo.

Ovviamente l'assistenza ai borsisti di Carate si è svolta regolarmente in tutte le sue forme.

— I.A.R.D. Saronno

È al quarto anno di vita, presso la scuola « Bescapè », che oggi conta circa 500 allievi.

Il settore che più spicca per la dinamica culturale-didattico-educativa è quello dei Circoli di Arricchimento Culturale. Dal primo giorno due animatori-insegnanti hanno sviluppato le attività del giornale e del teatro, che evidentemente hanno trovato tale rispondenza nei ragazzi da far sì che si occupassero di queste stesse in gruppo, ritrovandosi a scuola col consenso del Preside, a prescindere dalla presenza dell'animatore, quasi ogni pomeriggio, mentre la riunione del Circolo ha luogo solo di sabato.

Quest'anno il Circolo di teatro è stato sostituito da un'altra attività espressiva: la pittura di gruppo. Venti ragazzi circa, divisi in sottogruppi, hanno realizzato un certo numero di pannelli dai soggetti differenti (per esempio: il lavoro umano), ciascuno dei quali era composto a sua volta da più pannelli.

Ciò ha costituito per essi, e anche per chi li guidava, un serio impegno, in quanto era la prima volta che si cimentavano in opere complete e con l'applicazione di tecniche nuove e più difficili.

— I.A.R.D. Sesto S. Giovanni

È sorto nell'anno scolastico 1965-66. Applica « l'alternativa ridotta » e non sviluppa perciò attività culturali.

Tuttavia la validità pedagogica della Preside della Scuola prescelta (la media Forlanini) e il suo impegno nello sviluppare con l'assistente sociale un ottimo programma di individuazione, ha consentito di ottenere un gruppo di borsisti che risultano essere al livello più alto fra tutti i borsisti delle Iniziative Collegate. Ciò avviene grazie anche alla collaborazione più generosa di tutti gli insegnanti, la maggior parte dei quali, fortunatamente, sono di ruolo e hanno ormai una buona conoscenza del Programma I.A.R.D.

— I.A.R.D. Varese

Si è attuato per tre anni nelle scuole « D. Alighieri » e « A. Righi » che assommano più di 1.000 allievi.

L'attività I.A.R.D. ha avuto vita per quattro anni, col pieno sviluppo di tutti i suoi settori. Solo al quarto anno, cioè nel 1967-68, lo I.A.R.D. non si è concluso con l'individuazione dei borsisti.

Ha disposto sempre di un'équipe tecnica al completo, che si è integrata nella consuetudine del lavoro in comune.

L'attività culturale l'anno passato è stata caratterizzata da un insieme di iniziative diverse (viaggi di studio, visite a mostre d'arte, ricerche storico-artistiche, audizione di dischi con lavoro di gruppo, ecc.) che sono state poste in discussione col pedagogo per esaminare la validità sul piano pedagogico-didattico, la risonanza nella scuola e presso gli insegnanti soprattutto sotto l'aspetto dell'utilizzazione per il recupero di allievi che presentano eventuali carenze.

— I.A.R.D. Udine

Si è sviluppato nel 1965, prendendo in considerazione le due scuole medie di S. Pietro e S. Leonardo al Natisone, sul confine italiano-jugoslavo.

La dinamica presentata da questo I.A.R.D. nei primi due anni si può definire sorprendente e molto merito va dato al Presidente.

Infatti, dalla sperimentazione di tre circoli di arricchimento culturale « prima maniera », l'anno scorso già si sono attuati i doposcuola sovvenzionati dallo stato.

Nei due paesi, lo I.A.R.D. offre a tutti servizi al completo (trasporti gratuiti da e per le valli circostanti, refezione, attività all'aperto e guidate) e riscuote

profonda risonanza fra le popolazioni locali, di condizioni economiche estremamente depresse.

Dall'anno scolastico 1967-68 la sperimentazione si è estesa ad una terza scuola nel Comune di Maniago a nord di Pordenone, promotore il Rotary Club di questa città. Con ciò si è inteso offrire una forma di assistenza indiretta ai sinistrati del Vajont poiché un certo numero di ragazzi di queste famiglie, che hanno riparato in Maniago, sono iscritti a questa scuola. A Udine lo I.A.R.D. ha assunto quasi subito la struttura di associazione, della quale fanno parte i rotariani come figure giuridiche e alla quale pervengono i contributi degli stessi, oltreché di quelli di Pordenone, Gorizia e Trieste; l'Ente Regione rinnova ogni anno i finanziamenti su presentazione del Programma I.A.R.D. delle varie scuole.

Pervengono inoltre contributi della Camera del Commercio, della Banca del Friuli ed altri.

La proliferazione si è manifestata quest'anno per iniziativa del Rotary Club di San Donà di Piave-Portogruaro, sotto la guida tecnica-organizzativa del Presidente dell'associazione I.A.R.D.-Udine, richiesta dal Rotary, che svilupperà un nuovo programma in un Comune economicamente depresso della provincia di Venezia, iniziando i lavori nella scuola prescelta nell'ottobre del 1969.

— I.A.R.D. Vicenza

Si attua dal 1965 nelle scuole di Noventa Vicentina, di Valdagno, di Vicenza città e, con l'anno 1967-68, si è esteso anche a Bassano del Grappa.

È sorto per iniziativa dell'Associazione Industriali, la quale ha invitato a collaborare altri 6 Enti:

- Rotary
- Camera di Commercio
- Comune di Vicenza
- Amministrazione Provinciale
- Provveditorato agli Studi
- Consorzio Provinciale Istruzione Tecnica

(Questi ultimi due Enti non hanno oneri economici).

Gli insegnanti hanno presentato fin dall'inizio qualità eccezionali di serietà, interesse ed impegno.

L'équipe tecnica, formata da quattro coordinatori delle scuole della città e della provincia, presenta maturità e senso di responsabilità che si riflettono di conseguenza su tutti gli operatori, psicologo e assistente sociale compresi. Anche qui, come a Udine, lo I.A.R.D. si è sviluppato in tutti i settori offrendo servizi che, complessivamente, date le dimensioni umane delle località in cui si attuano, possono dirsi servizi offerti alle comunità.

In due scuole su quattro, e precisamente a Valdagno e a Noventa, si è sviluppata la scuola integrata coi finanziamenti dello I.A.R.D., che sono stati utilizzati per incrementare ed ampliare i programmi in parte già resi possibili dai fondi ministeriali e dalle contribuzioni spontanee delle famiglie che apprezzano grandemente l'iniziativa in favore dei propri figli.

I problemi culturali sono rivolti sia al recupero scolastico, su segnalazione di bisogno degli insegnanti stessi, sia alle libere attività complementari.

Le quattro scuole I.A.R.D. assistono nel complesso 2.500 allievi, hanno attribuito venti borse complete ed altri assegni-libro, hanno sempre attuato l'assistenza ai propri ex-allievi, borsisti I.A.R.D. e degli Enti Pubblici, sia nel corso dell'anno scolastico sia durante le vacanze estive mediante i gruppi di studio

per recupero, attività specialistiche, campeggi estivi in montagna o nella scuola stessa che avevano per scopo, oltreché la vita associativa, la ricerca e lo studio.

5) PUBBLICAZIONI E STRUMENTI DI ACCERTAMENTO ATTITUDINALE MESSI A PUNTO DALLO I.A.R.D.

a) Pubblicazioni

Il Programma I.A.R.D. ha provveduto sin dall'inizio alla pubblicazione di un notiziario ciclostilato e poi stampato e in seguito alla diffusione di fogli di informazione.

Ha inoltre distribuito relazioni su problemi particolari. Ma, per quanto riguarda l'esigenza di una esauriente esposizione dei risultati scientifici e pratici meglio assodati, ha programmato una serie di Monografie a stampa previste secondo un ordine organico. Esse tuttavia non vengono pubblicate secondo lo stesso ordine, in quanto la messa a punto dei vari filoni di attività avviene secondo un criterio diverso.

Si pubblicano perciò per primi i volumi che illustrano nel modo più ampio e completo gli intendimenti e la metodologia seguiti nell'apprestare gli strumenti di accertamento attitudinale, nonché le caratteristiche rilevate all'analisi statistica dei risultati con essi ottenuti su vasti campioni.

Seguono i volumi relativi all'impostazione generale delle attività I.A.R.D. nella scuola obbligatoria ed alla particolare metodologia di ciascuna di esse. Alcune Monografie si riferiscono più specificamente al settore della ricerca riportando i risultati delle ricerche stesse. Il piano delle Monografie, in parte già pubblicate, in parte in preparazione, è il seguente:

— Volume 1°: « Metodologia I.A.R.D. » (in preparazione).

Delinea criticamente le ragioni dell'impostazione e degli sviluppi dell'attività I.A.R.D.

Sviluppa analiticamente le tre dimensioni fondamentali dello I.A.R.D. (psicologica, sociale, pedagogica).

È corredato di tutti i dati possibili che possono dar conto dell'entità e soprattutto dell'utilità delle procedure seguite (relativamente sia all'individuazione e in genere all'attività nelle scuole medie, sia alle cure prestate ai borsisti).

— Volume 2°: « I tests culturali per la valutazione delle abilità mentali » di Ornella Andreani Dentici (già pubblicato).

Questa Monografia espone, con ogni necessaria cautela scientifica, ma con la sicurezza derivante dalla scrupolosa verifica delle ipotesi, il lavoro compiuto per realizzare una batteria di strumenti psico-diagnostici indispensabili alla identificazione dei giovani meritevoli di assistenza per la prosecuzione degli studi, secondo la finalità del Programma I.A.R.D.

— Volume 3°: « Il problema psicologico della creatività » di Gabriele Calvi (già pubblicato).

In questo volume sono raccolti gli scritti che documentano le ricerche svolte dall'autore e dai suoi collaboratori, in ordine alla ideazione e alla fondazione metrica di un test di pensiero creativo.

— Volume 4°: « Il test "G" di intelligenza generale » (in preparazione), di Gabriele Calvi.

Porta la documentazione relativa a questo test, che fa parte della batteria I.A.R.D.

— Volume 5°: « La personalità dei dotati » di Ornella Andreani Dentici (in preparazione).

— Volume 6°: « Le attività di arricchimento e il doposcuola » (in preparazione). Raccoglierà vari contributi dei componenti l'équipe I.A.R.D. che in questi anni hanno lavorato nell'ambito della scuola media. Offrirà un panorama concreto delle attività di arricchimento I.A.R.D., del loro inserimento nel doposcuola e dell'organizzazione del doposcuola stesso.

— Volume 7°: « Le Iniziative Collegate » (in preparazione).

Raccoglierà la documentazione relativa alle esperienze I.A.R.D. attuate in varie città italiane, tracciando una linea critica sul modo come l'impostazione I.A.R.D. si è più o meno flessibilmente adattata a condizioni locali diverse, a diversa disponibilità di risorse, di personale, ai diversi interessi culturali e pedagogici.

— Volume 8°: relativo al « Test diagnostico di matematica » (in preparazione). Comprende oltre all'esposizione delle procedure di elaborazione e ai risultati dell'analisi statistica, notizie e dati sul suo impiego in prime classi di scuole medie superiori.

— Volume 9°: è previsto un volume che riporti i risultati della ricerca sul disadattamento scolastico in collaborazione con la Bernard Van Leer Foundation. Tale volume non sarà limitato ai risultati della fase conoscitiva, ma comprenderà i risultati delle attività di intervento pedagogico.

— Volume 10°: è previsto un volume sui risultati delle ricerche patrocinate dal Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.

— Volume 11°: è prevista una monografia compilata dal Preside della scuola Piatti, che ha vissuto nell'ambito della sua scuola l'esperienza I.A.R.D. e, in collaborazione con gli altri Presidi, nell'ambito delle Iniziative Collegate, esprimerà il suo punto di vista sull'esperienza.

b) Strumenti di accertamento attitudinale messi a punto dallo I.A.R.D.

Gli strumenti di accertamento attitudinale, che il Programma aveva tempestivamente commissionato ad Istituti e a studiosi specializzati, sono un « prodotto » che esso può mettere a disposizione della scuola italiana, avendone sufficientemente accertato la validità e le caratteristiche metrologiche.

Questi strumenti permettono un accurato studio longitudinale delle attitudini degli allievi nel corso della scuola media, ed hanno permesso di realizzare una batteria di strumenti psicodiagnostici indispensabili alla identificazione dei giovani meritevoli di assistenza per la prosecuzione degli studi, secondo la finalità statutaria del Programma I.A.R.D. Ma opportunamente la richiesta era stata fin dall'inizio di una batteria che non limitasse le sue possibilità diagnostico-prognostiche a questa particolare funzione, ma presentasse la più ampia applicabilità.

Grazie alla loro solida impostazione teoretica, che poggia su una rassegna estensiva e aggiornata della migliore letteratura straniera e su larga esperienza personale, la batteria elaborata si offre come uno dei primissimi strumenti italiani atti a valutare le potenzialità scolastiche di base, distintamente nelle materie letterarie e in quelle tecnico-scientifiche; uno strumento applicabile sull'intera popolazione italiana, in due diverse età cruciali per fornire

il sommario consuntivo della formazione scolastica ricevuta e il preventivo per quelle da scegliere ulteriormente.

I tests finora prodotti sono i seguenti:

— Test « G »: reattivo d'intelligenza non verbale, inteso a saggiare la capacità generale di ragionamento, indipendentemente, per quanto possibile, da influenze culturali e abilità verbali.

— Test « V1 » - Test « V2 »: reattivi di ragionamento verbale, a livello di età 11-12 e 13-14.

— Test « Q » - Test « Q2 »: reattivi di ragionamento matematico-quantitativo, a livello di età 11-12 e 13-14.

— Test « E »: prova di abilità creativa suscettibile di valutazione standardizzata.

L'uso congiunto di tali strumenti, di una scheda di valutazione della personalità dell'allievo e dei suoi interessi, dei dati di profitto ed una sufficiente conoscenza delle condizioni socio-culturali delle famiglie, rendono possibile una valutazione pedagogica varia, intensa ed individualizzata.

Numerosi altri tests sono in via di allestimento in relazione alla ricerca sul problema del disadattamento scolastico in collaborazione con la Bernard Van Leer Foundation. (Vedi punto n. 3).

Anche per quanto riguarda il test di profitto matematico si è parlato in precedenza.

6) RICONOSCIMENTI UFFICIALI

Vari riconoscimenti sono stati attribuiti in questi ultimi anni al Programma I.A.R.D.: Diploma di Prima Classe dei Benemeriti della Scuola, della Cultura e dell'Arte (giugno 1968), Capo dello Stato; Premio della Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri.

THE "D.A.G.C." PROGRAMME
(for the discovery of and assistance to gifted children)

by Franco Brambilla

GENERAL PLAN OF THE REPORT

1) HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND OUTLINE OF OUR PROGRAMME RELATING TO THE "DISCOVERY OF AND ASSISTANCE TO GIFTED CHILDREN"

- a) Origins
- b) objectives
- c) developments
- d) financial commitments
- e) scholarships

2) CURRENT ACTIVITIES

- a) Activities in secondary schools
 - general information
 - sociological analysis in schools
 - singling out of students' personal needs
 - pedagogical projects
 - didactic structures of the schools
 - orientation work
 - special therapeutic methods
- b) Assistance to scholarship holders
 - general information
 - economic assistance
 - social assistance
 - pedagogical assistance
 - psychological assistance

3) RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

- a) Research in collaboration with the Bernard Van Leer Foundation
- b) Research work sponsored by the C.N.R.
- c) Mathematics proficiency tests

4) RELATED ACTIVITIES

5) PUBLICATIONS AND APTITUDE TESTS ELABORATED BY THE D.A.G.C.

- a) Publications
- b) Aptitude tests

6) OFFICIAL RECOGNITIONS

1) HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND OUTLINE OF THE EVOLUTION OF OUR PROGRAMME FOR THE "DISCOVERY OF AND ASSISTANCE TO GIFTED CHILDREN"

a) Origins

In 1961, the *Rotary Clubs* in Milan decided to sponsor an initiative, unknown so far in our country, called "Programme for the Discovery of and Assistance to Gifted Children", whose aim was to make a comparative study of problems related to "wasted talents" in various secondary schools, representative of the secondary school system. A further aim was to experiment ways and means to achieve more efficient scholastic assistance in view of the fact that environmental and economic difficulties often slow down or even interrupt the studies of "able and deserving young people" deprived of financial backing.

b) Objectives

The D.A.G.C. Programme began its activities by undertaking preliminary research studies related to problems of wasted talent. Our initial activities were mainly aimed at individualizing children, still in the last three years of the lower secondary state schools, who, because of their low economic and cultural background, had little chance to continue their studies. We further aimed to assist these boys financially, as a partial solution to their problems.

Thus, the preliminary phase of our programme aimed to achieve two goals: first of all, to devise the proper diagnostic means to individualize the intellectual and cultural levels of children in the lower secondary schools; secondly to elaborate assistance programmes which ranged from cultural clubs to social, scholastic and familial assistance, to the award of scholarships.

The direct experimental phase got under way in 1962, and having discarded the possibility of long-range exploratory investigations among lower secondary school children in Milan, we preferred to limit our research work in the individualization of talented children to a certain number of schools. This work was to be carried on during the whole three-year school cycle, combining the diagnostic information collected by our research workers and the opinions or suggestions of the teachers themselves.

As a result, the D.A.G.C. Programme, starting from the 1962-1963 school year, got under way in several lower secondary schools in Milan under the direction of our own team of research-workers, appointed to individualize those children who, even if they showed normal intelligence only, found themselves in precarious economic situations and could not therefore plan adequately for their future. Along with teams of specialists (psychologists, psychometrists, and social workers), we introduced "animators" into these schools who were meant to propose free complementary activities to the individualized students and all other members of the school who were willing to participate in them: the intention of our "animators" was, on the one hand, to actualize those plans already included in the "doposcuola" (when supplementary lessons or pastimes are provided) and on the other hand apply original and efficient therapeutic methods of a pedagogical nature, destined to stimulate and develop the general culture of those children whose home backgrounds were less favourable in this respect.

This pedagogical intervention, extending over a period of three years, should have allowed the evaluation of latent and often restrained capacities of children belonging to under-privileged classes, in order to make valid plans for their future studies at the end of the lower-secondary school cycle.

c) Developments

This phase of our work, which, with progressive modifications, has nevertheless remained substantially the same throughout the 1965-1966 school year, led to various conclusions:

— the schools in question were quite willing to allow our research workers to carry out their programmes concerning the individualization of gifted children or in regards to the enrichment of existing programmes, but only in return for their collaboration in resolving certain typical psychological or sociological problems

(cases of maladjusted children, pedagogical orientation, psychological or cultural rehabilitation etc.).

— The discovery of gifted children from low-income homes involved a global “attack” against the actual scholastic environment in which these children found themselves. In fact, in order to overcome the inertia of environmental conditions and therefore unblock the situation in which the child found himself, it seemed essential to improve the cultural and formative potentials of the school itself, considered as a unifying structure. In other words, in a school truly orientated to assume responsibilities for social adaptation and formative ends, children from the more modest homes would have found the means to overcome their own handicaps. In the same way, the teachers themselves, through this new orientation would have been able to promote new programmes aiming to discover or stimulate gifted children or rehabilitate others.

— The observations made and experiments carried out by our workers in connection with our programme for “the discovery of and assistance to gifted children”, revealed such a complex range of effective needs and scarcity of means deriving from the home and social background which permeated scholastic life itself, that we had to plan for future programmes of vaster dimensions than we had originally anticipated. Thus, this change in our plans for the 1966-67 scholastic year can be more readily understood. Our primary aim was to implement all the new regulations provided by law in connection with the renovated structures of the lower secondary schools, giving the possibility to psychologists and pedagogues to initiate structural modifications as a means to solve problems which until then had been solved on an individual basis only.

In October 1966, our D.A.G.C. programme no longer included the wide number of schools in which our activities had been carried out, but it was decided to concentrate our organizing and experimental methods in one school only, with the intention of establishing the following services, totally inexistent until then:

- a) “doposcuola” (providing supplementary lessons or pastimes after school) available to all children who wanted to take advantage of it, based on rehabilitative scholastic activities, research-work or further development of studies undertaken, complementary activities chosen by the students themselves;
- b) lunch period and intramural activities, organized as an essential integrating phase between morning lessons and “doposcuola”;
- c) special classes (according to ability or aimed to fill gaps) to help the more handicapped pre-adolescents to face the essential cultural requirements in our society;
- d) teams of specialists (psychologists, social workers, pedagogues, psychometrists) working within the school on a full-time basis;
- e) the actualization of effective students’ meetings in the classroom, according to the spirit of the renovated lower secondary school, as an educative structure of primary importance;
- f) education programmes for teachers to prepare them for their new responsibilities as orientators, either in their functions as individual teachers or as members of the teachers’ council.

d) Financial Commitments

We are of the opinion that it is relevant and significant to note, as a point of reference in connection with grave deficiencies in our central educational policies, the enormous financial efforts which our D.A.G.C. Programme has had to sustain to organize and maintain the above-mentioned structures.

This was done without any help whatsoever, either requested or offered, from the Public Authorities. The D.A.G.C. Programme directed, for two years, the great part of the “doposcuola” programmes at its own expense; it subsidized the lunch-programme for more than a year —as well as the teams of specialists, didactic and pedagogical consultations, cultural clubs, assistants for lunch or recreation periods, until now; it also provided the necessary material for diagnosis purposes as well as the non-traditional didactic material.

e) Scholarships

Along the same lines as the activities of the D.A.G.C. in given schools, which at

first were limited to the individualization of gifted children, our field of experience extended to the higher forms in secondary schools. It was perhaps less complex in nature than our experiences in the lower secondary schools, but extremely significant in view of the problems adolescents have to face when they finish their obligatory schooling. As students reached the final year in the lower secondary school (the cycle is obligatory), the D.A.G.C. Programme has always awarded scholarships, on an experimental basis, to gifted and deserving students, unable to continue their studies because of financial difficulties. In correlation with the distribution of scholarships, following the complex process of individualization, social, cultural, and psychological assistance were integrated within the scholastic programme of the scholarship holders, right from the start.

This programme rapidly reached constant standards in the methods used and as such gave us the possibility to collect substantial documentary knowledge in regards to the actual levels of studies in the higher forms of the secondary schools.

We were able to make notable progress in this field, specially in view of the fact that we were able to arrive at a more precise definition of our concept of "gifted children": the super-gifted child—visualized as a brilliant and successful member of a school—was gradually replaced by the child of normal intelligence, who likewise should be entitled to continue his studies, but who may find himself handicapped in realizing his projects and aspirations through various factors: economic, familial, cultural or motivational. The D.A.G.C. Programme has therefore concentrated its attention and interest on those young people belonging to the under-privileged strata of our society, either from a social or cultural standpoint.

In a parallel manner, our orientation programmes for higher secondary school students, aimed to guide them towards professional training or university studies, once they have obtained their diploma.

2) CURRENT ACTIVITIES

For greater clarity, I shall consider this question under its two fold aspect:

- a) activities in secondary schools
- b) assistance to scholarship holders

a) Activities in secondary schools

— General information

The most elaborate phase ever assumed by our Programmes (namely the one we adopted at the Piatti Secondary State School) consists of: "doposcuola", subsidized lunches, intramural activities, special classes, specialized services offered by our team of experts, strengthening of teachers meetings.

Limiting ourselves to broad outlines, we could explain the actualization of these activities in secondary schools in a different manner, by pointing out some of the broad directive concepts which, if properly integrated, could modify the educative aims of the secondary school itself.

The direct aims of our programmes are therefore: the careful and constant evaluation of social structure evolutions which can condition students directly or indirectly; to promote activities of pedagogical and formative value in the schools, adequate to the relative needs found in the school; didactic and psychological material in addition to existing means, adequately organized to meet various needs of every child (scholastic rehabilitation, activities relating to the child's development, creative activities, ambient therapy for maladjusted children). Their further aim is to promote ways and means to stimulate educators to become aware of their responsibilities as educators, and collaborate in implementing concrete orientation projects.

In other words, the D.A.G.C. Programme endeavoured first of all to promote organizative structures in the schools in question, without which it would not even have been possible to propose the aims indicated above, nor to expose the basis of these structures clearly, nor to adopt the means to achieve the ends in view.

A distinction should be made in regards to methods adopted in our work either

directly connected with the children themselves or related to consultation services in the school.

Once the different structures had been established, we discovered, as we had expected, that all our activities were gradually assuming wider significance, in respect to our two fold aim: the diagnosis of the children involved and of their environment as well, and therapeutic pedagogical modifications in their scholastic life. Furthermore every structure involved proved to assume more specific value in several directions.

— *Sociological analysis in schools.*

This undertaking, under the direction of the social worker but in collaboration with all the members of the team, developed in the following stages:

a) surveys were made as to neighbourhood conditions, to investigate the urbanistic and sociological characteristics of the neighbourhood in question; inventory of the potential complementary resources of the school and elaboration of hypotheses as to the educative needs of the neighbourhood population. Relations were also established with lower and higher secondary schools, and a survey made of possible local work opportunities.

b) systematic sociological surveys in the schools: socio-economic questionnaires were sent to all the students' parents; this information was integrated with those already received from their elementary schools or information already collected by the school in question. A statistical study of the resulting data was accordingly made, and this was compared with preceding data collected in former years.

c) interviews were conducted either in homes or with the parents visiting the school, either through the parents' personal request or at the request of the team workers. Further information advanced by the teaching staff meetings, as well as by teachers or members of the sanitary service was also examined.

d) liaison-work was also established with the local social service center and with offices or organizations connected with social work in our town.

e) meetings with the parents either in school or in a social service center were organized.

Although our work is largely aimed at diagnostic purposes, it has nevertheless developed along lines which have provoked and continue to promote modifications in the pedagogical orientations of the structures in which it has evolved: professional services are made available to the students' families, to the local services interested, and to the teachers themselves. Through these achievements, both in evaluating and defining explicit needs clearly, our work in the schools in question has inevitably led to a new awareness of problems and responsibilities in the field of education which should be assumed by all concerned.

— *Singling out of students' personal needs.*

This involves psychological diagnosis programmes, carried out regularly among all the students of the school in question, and surveys to discover the cultural level of those same students, in order to arrive at a more rational evaluation of their achievement level.

This work is carried out under the direction of a psychologist and a psychometrist at first, in collaboration with a social worker and other members of the team. It consists of the following operations:

a) initial surveys to discover the effective intellectual capacity and cultural level of students attending the first year of secondary schools, and of their global personality characteristics. This is followed by the individualization of problem children attending special classes based on individual capacity or on scholastic rehabilitation, before the beginning of the school year.

b) individual psychodiagnostic tests are given to all doubtful cases or in cases suggested by others (parents, elementary schools, teachers' council, club supervisors or school assistants in charge of intramural activities).

c) achievement tests based on objective tests or docimological elaboration of class-works.

- d) systematic control of aptitude tests in the third year of the secondary school.
- e) systematic collection of teachers' observations or evaluations, through the use of special observation screens.
- f) registration and elaboration of trimestrial marks; comparisons with results of aptitude tests; examination of suggestions made by teachers' council members.
- g) integration of these data with information advanced by the families involved, in regards to problems facing the child or his family in connection with school.
- h) activities in collaboration with the sanitary service workers of the school in controlling health conditions of the child.

Naturally, these activities, presented so far as instruments of diagnosis, cannot be viewed separately from their therapeutic effects, as implied in the examples given above, and possibilities for systematic expansion are now in view as we shall see below.

— *Pedagogical Projects*

These projects have been undertaken mainly under the direction of the team supervisor and pedagogical consultants, assisted by all other members of the team; their aim was to implement structures and programmes deriving from knowledge gained as to the effective needs of students and diagnosis advanced through sociological studies.

So far, our efforts to reach this objective can be resumed in the following activities:

- a) programmes aiming to recuperate scholastically retarded children, particularly orientated according to basic capacities (Italian, Mathematics, Foreign Languages).
- b) cultural enrichment programmes, under the direct supervision of the D.A.G.C. Programme, with the aim of introducing within the schools in question cultural activities and experiences representing current ideas, problems and scales of values, which have not been so far included in normal school programmes. These activities may be connected with painting, sculpture, music, cinema, photography, scientific research, sociological research, dance and rhythm, theater or journalism and are mainly carried out in clubs under the guidance of "animators" who have been effectively integrated within the "doposcuola" programme.
- c) programme planned along didactic lines for intramural recreational activities, with two fundamental aims in mind: on the one hand to teach children how to play (rather than allowing them to amuse themselves with uncoordinated movements), and on the other hand to give children the opportunity to undergo a socially useful experience.
- d) systematic consultations with the Headmaster of the school in connection with fundamental educative problems such as: discipline, sexual education, relations with the families involved, didactic projects, up-to-date knowledge regarding scholastic problems.
- e) development of premises relating to ways and means of helping the intellectually gifted, and to methods of orientation, viewed as basic responsibilities to be assumed by teachers.
- f) systematic interpretation and diffusion of data relevant to the students in question collected by the team of workers, to be used later in teachers' councils as essential basis for educative projects.
- g) teacher training programme to enable teachers to make psychologically valid observations and subsequently draw up qualified personality studies of the subjects involved.

— *Didactic structures of the schools*

These didactic structures are derived from the combined activities of the pedagogues and psychologists who form part of the team, who selected or gave form to the means through which they could be realized, on the basis of two fundamental requirements: the necessity to improve the diagnostic and evaluation capacities of the teachers involved, and the necessity to provide suitable didactic material for individualized teaching methods.

In particular, the following means have been tried and adopted:

- a) objective tests for the evaluation of the cultural level of various groups of

students in different phases of the three-year school cycle: an examination in Italian Language and one in Mathematics at the beginning of the first year in lower secondary schools; an examination in Mathematics at the end of that school year in that particular school, an examination in Algebra and in Geometry at the end of the lower secondary school cycle.

b) individual control sheets or practice sheets for use in connection with Italian Language courses and Mathematics courses (at 1st year and 2nd year level in lower secondary schools).

c) observation screens for psychological observation of children, available to teachers, animators, or "doposcuola" assistants.

d) questionnaires based on relevant information for the scholastic or professional orientation of students.

These means, as mentioned above, have always been submitted with relevant illustrations as to their uses and methods of use, followed by reports as to the results obtained after they had been applied.

Aside from these means, adapted according to the particular need of the school involved, we also put to use other didactic means already available on a commercial basis: various musical instruments, specially constructed for teaching purposes; material for painting or sculpture classes; material needed by photography or cinema clubs; materials essential for scientific research activities (in Biology, Zoology or Botany); material necessary to build up a scholastic reference library.

— *Orientation work*

This work was conducted under the combined supervision of the entire team of specialists and pedagogic consultants. Our orientation work has always been conceived as a series of complementary and reinforcing activities within the context of the fundamental role of schools, viewed as institution. Actually, rather than assuming their responsibilities as organs of orientation, schools have generally preferred, up to the present, to hand over these matters to specialized collaborators, granting them their unconditioned faith in their capabilities. In the meantime their reactions have been based on the perspective of temporary measures and the confident assumption that, by keeping the problem alive, teachers will be "contaminated" sooner or later.

The following are some of the concrete examples of our activities in connection with orientation work in schools:

a) information relevant to students, families and teachers. Data collected through surveys made in higher secondary schools in town; data relating to the nature and orientation of various professional training courses, and up-to-date work opportunities. Meetings and interviews with specialists in scholastic circles or in the world of industry, visits to schools or work-sites.

b) integrating children's interests and resources into positive activities, group-discussions in class, creation of "requests-notebooks" to write down problems or questions relating to orientation, individual interviews with the children themselves and their parents, communication with comments of the aptitude-test results upon the request of the interested party, distribution of stimulating questionnaires.

c) integrating teachers' contributions as members of the teachers' council, through questionnaires relating to third-year secondary school students, and involving them in class discussions.

d) elaboration of the final personality characteristics of the children in question: discussions with teachers as to their evaluation of the child involved, comparisons with their psychological characteristics' report, evaluation in the light of actual family conditions, final report of personality evaluation for the benefit of the family as well as the examining board.

e) deeper psychological and sociological research-work in the case of children who seem to have more serious orientation problems.

— *Special therapeutic activities*

These activities were supervised specially by our team of experts, including the psychologist, social worker, neuro-psychiatrist, psychometrist, and carried out two days a week respectively, aside from time spent in teachers' meetings, and integrated

with the work carried out by a psycho-therapist two hours a week. These assistance services were particularly meant for children in "differentiated" classes (according to capacity) but were also extended to particular "cases" which might come up in regular classes during the school year.

They can be classified as follows:

- a) individual consultation for students and their families under the guidance of the psychologist or social worker.
- b) group psycho-therapy, for more serious cases of maladjustments among the students in "differentiated" classes, under the guidance of a group psycho-therapist.
- c) deeper individual psycho-therapy, under the guidance of the neuro-psychiatrist/psycho-therapist, for those children for whom group therapy is not suitable.
- d) prescription of psycho-pharmaceutical products, or other suitable organic therapy treatment, under the guidance of the neuro-psychiatrist.
- e) indirect therapy treatment through group-expressions techniques: painting, the theater, dance and rhythm, sculpture.

For reasons which I shall explain later on, we have not yet been able to form a training-group for teachers assigned to special schools.

b) Assistance to scholarship-holders

— General information

Our field of operation in connection with assistance to scholarship holders took different shape from that applied in the lower secondary schools, because of the different nature of our services and their applications in these particular cases. Our assistance services in favour of scholarship holders reflect the continuity of concepts on which our work in lower secondary schools was based, since our initial work of individualization of gifted and deserving children begins in those very schools, and relative information is collected for further use. The special sector in charge of this scholarship programme does not form part of any specific scholastic nucleus, since the subjects involved, i.e. scholarship holders, are distributed among all the higher secondary schools, whatever their scholastic trends may be. For this reason, this special sector is directly connected with the central office of our D.A.G.C. Programme, from where several activities are carried out and its field of operation branches out to the schools and homes of our scholarship holders. The staff of workers consists of a social-worker, employed on a full-time basis, a pedagogue, a psychologist, and several teachers and "animators" all working on a part-time basis. The group is assisted by an external medical consultant, to deal with problems relating to sanitary assistance.

Our activities in connection with our scholarship programme can be resumed as follows:

Financial assistance

Our policy is to try and eliminate all obstacles in the way of students who want to continue their studies. Decisions to assist a given subject are taken on the sole basis of suggestions made by our team of experts operating in lower secondary schools to the scholarship committee, specially created for this purpose.

Financial assistance can take the following forms:

- a) award of scholarships on a five-year basis, amounting from 150.000 to 300.000 lire a year;
- b) award of special scholastic prizes or contributions for scholastic expenses, from 80.000 to 100.000 lire a year;
- c) payment of boarding-school fees, or other institution fees in special cases;
- d) contributions towards supplementary lessons' expenses in cases of children who are behind in their studies;
- e) assisting students in their requests for government subsidy (pre-salario), other scholarships, various other subsidies, or for loans granted "on their honour" (for scholarship holders who already attend a university).

Social assistance

Our services in this connection are particularly orientated to valorize the potential resource of the environmental conditions in which the scholarship holders evolve, with particular emphasis on their home environment, and likewise in connection with assistance services in the community, which could be of help in solving the more serious problems facing the subjects in connection with financial difficulties or problems of organization.

Our field of action includes the following typical examples:

- a) interviews with scholarship holders and their families;
- b) investigations as to home conditions;
- c) contact with official service centers or other town organizations either directly or through correspondence;

d) counseling service or direct intervention in cases involving serious family problems. We furthermore endeavour to establish intense and systematic contacts with all higher secondary schools or Institutes where our D.A.G.C. scholarship holders are studying. Our aims in this direction are to gain knowledge as to the selective and formative criteria in function in the schools in question, and to give more rational assistance to our scholarship holders in the light of information passed on by the teachers themselves.

The social worker, in turn, pays regular visits to headmasters of the secondary schools or Institutes involved, who then introduce him to the scholarship holders' teachers. The resulting information is then communicated to the students themselves, and their families who can then discuss the matter more fully; it is also communicated to the D.A.G.C. Programme pedagogue, so that he may plan for auxiliary scholastic assistance based on the needs found to exist in the schools in question.

Pedagogical assistance

The aims of these services have a two-fold purpose: on the one hand to help slower students in catching up with their studies, and on the other hand to provide the means for a more adequate cultural stimulation and enrichment, in favour of scholarship holders who in theory belong to culturally deprived homes.

This task has been assigned to the pedagogue in charge, who endeavours to coordinate the activities carried out by cultural club "animators" and those actualized by group-work teachers.

a) control of the scholastic curriculum: the preliminary phase of pedagogical projects involves constant up-to-date check-ups as to the scholastic progress of our scholarship holders; this is done through interviews between the pedagogues and children in question, through the collection and examination of their trimestrial grades, through supervision of work carried out by "animators" or group-work teachers. The results obtained from these activities will then condition the contents of the successive phase of pedagogical projects.

b) cultural clubs - planned to meet two fundamental aims: that of offering various non-scholastic cultural experiences to the students (History of Art, Photography, the Sciences, Sociological studies etc.) and promoting related aptitudes in students of different home and scholastic background. The "animator" of these clubs directs these activities as "functional leader" mainly.

c) study groups - based on more specific and more scholastically derived subjects. The study group consists of two to four children (generally slower in any one subject), all following the same programme and studying under the guidance of a teacher specialized in this particular subject. Every child is also entitled to take part in more than one study group. Whereas cultural clubs are completely free, scholarship holders are expected to pay a modest fee, per hour, for lessons in the study group. This is done mainly to stimulate their efforts and their sense of responsibility.

d) individual lessons - meant for scholarship holders, who for various reasons (transfer from one school to another, illness, insufficient preparation due to previous school curriculums, specific nature of scholastic need) are not in the position to take advantage of study group activities; retributions for these lessons follow the same criteria as mentioned above (c).

e) integrative cultural activities - directly connected with study-group activities; these initiatives are relatively less organic in nature, planned by the study-group teachers as integrative activities within their purely didactic programme of work.

They can therefore be considered as something intermediate between study-groups and cultural clubs and consist mainly of lessons aimed to give deeper meaning to a specific part of the programme, visits to cultural centers, or reading programmes inspired by arguments in a particular lesson.

In all the cases mentioned above, the D.A.G.C. Programme provides directly for all the necessary didactic materials and consultation organs. It has also prepared special information sheets, to be used by teachers for evaluations or synthetic appreciations related to students in their charge, special forms for recording trimestrial grades, and special registers where all the information regarding the scholastic curriculum of scholarship holders can be collected.

Psychological assistance

This consists mainly of psycho-diagnostic and counseling services in favour of cases which have caught the attention of either the social-worker, teachers, animators or have been suggested by the families themselves or even the schools, because they needed clarification on the psychological plan or therapeutic treatment. More problematic cases are referred to experts in the related field.

This activity is carried out by a psychologist on a part-time basis, in constant collaboration with our team of workers.

Problems relating to vocational orientation constantly absorb our attention; this may involve the re-elaboration of a programme of studies planned for the scholarship holder, in view of fresh circumstances or new pressures in his life as well as outlining projects to guide the young individual once he has obtained his diploma.

Vocational orientation as to university, or trade school professional training, include the following activities:

- a) collection and distribution of information regarding professional and university careers;
- b) individual and group discussions with young people who have just obtained their diploma, in connection with problems arising from their choice of career;
- c) collection of information and appreciations from teachers employed in schools where our scholarship holders are enrolled;
- d) analysis of concrete resources and possibilities of assistance to facilitate these young people's programmes;
- e) organizing meetings with experts either in school circles or in the field of industry;
- f) in case, psychological or medical controls of a deeper nature, upon the request of the young people themselves;
- g) combined efforts to assist these young people in finding jobs or a place in a school in function of their choice of career.

These activities are mainly carried out jointly by our team of workers.

The specialists in this sector work as a team a good part of the time: this is specially true whenever their work is connected with selecting educative objectives, establishing priority as to actions to be taken, or decisions as to correct attitudes to assume in regards to the students, their families or the schools themselves.

This team-work can be considered essential from a logical point of view, if we are to reach unity of action, when the variety of elements of a dispersive nature, arising on different occasions in the life of our young subjects, could easily undermine its effects.

This will be discussed further, later on, in view of the invaluable experience gained in this particular sector. At this point, it is sufficient to point out that our experience in this sector has enabled us to distinguish two main problems, which can be thus recapitulated:

- typical problems facing higher secondary school students conditioned by serious economic and socio-cultural handicaps;
- problems and shortcomings, both from the point of view of contents and organization, inherent to our higher secondary schools, of all types.

3) RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

Aside from the various activities mentioned previously, the D.A.G.C. Programme has carried on scientific research work under the direction of a team of experts and academic consultants (psychologists, sociologists, pedagogues). These activities have assumed greater importance within the frame of our Programme and actual research work consists of the following:

a) Research work in collaboration with the Bernard Van Leer Foundation

- Goals of the research work:

this research, carried out in elementary schools in collaboration with the Dutch Van Leer Foundation, regards scholastic maladjustment problems.

The aims of this research work undertaken in several pre-chosen schools in Milan can be defined as follows:

- to investigate maladjustment and underachievement problems in schools, the latter problem viewed in its widest sense, as inferior scholastic achievement in relation to intellectual potential;

- to detect remedial methods both at an individual and scholastic level capable of compensation for negative factors related with family and environment.

This research work began with an inventory of all available means in this field both in Italy and abroad; the choice of the tests to be submitted in the 90 selected classes was made with the following criteria in mind:

- corresponding to the general aims of our research work;

- possibility of adaptation to Italian standards. This condition was met by Intelligence Tests, but not by the Achievement Tests. Others were not suitable for the age-groups involved (frustration and sentences). In the case of elementary schools, all the tests had to be made up from scratch. This work involved many discussions on the part of our research workers and it was decided to apply these new or re-elaborated tests on a preliminary basis;

- possibility of use for comparison purposes, of means for successive age-groups, either for evaluation of data or preparation of follow-up records in the following years;

- simplicity of application. In order not to prejudice the results of subjects presumably untrained in testing procedure, we did not make use of the relative answer sheets, even if this increased the correcting time involved.

- Tests used in our research work:

- a) Gille's Mosaics (simplified version for first year students in elementary schools, complete version for 4th and 5th year students).

A pre-test was carried out in four classes outside those already chosen, in order to establish a correlation between the 2 different forms of the test. Since it proved to be rather high, we chose the simplified version for 1st year elementary school students. The revised Italian version was elaborated by the P.A.S.

- b) Cattell Culture Fair (Version 2nd for 4th and 5th year elementary school students). Standard tests have been elaborated and used in Italy in the case of 1000 children, under the auspices of the Neuro-psychiatric Clinic in Milan, which used them in its research work on dyslexia.

- c) Vocabulary and comprehension tests. Italian version of the Metropolitan Achievement Test under the auspices of the Psychology Institute of the Medical School of Milan and the Psychology Institute of Pavia.

- d) Arithmetic test; new elaboration based on the Metropolitan Achievement Tests.

- e) Sociometric test: Moreno.

- f) Drawing: little man and family.

- g) Reaction tests - obstacles and frustrating situations in connection with subjects' personal relationship with class-mates, teachers and parents. The new version used was based on the Rosenzweig model.

- h) Sentence completion tests in reference to various attitudes in home or scholastic environment. New version.

- i) Questionnaires for the use of pupils and parents.
- j) Questionnaires for teachers.

• **Prototype of pilot-schools involved:**

these schools were chosen by our research worker team in collaboration with various consultants.

They consist of: two schools involving pupils of higher socio-economic background, two of middle-class socio-economic background and three of lower social class pupils, involving 90 classes and 2800 pupils altogether.

Previous to our work, the relative scholastic authorities were contacted to illustrate the aims and phases of our research and to make sure that the testing procedure would be carried out correctly. We also held meetings with the Headmaster and the teachers of the selected schools before initiating the tests, so that we could be assured of their active participation.

b) Research work sponsored by the C.N.R.
(National Council for Research)

1) Theme of our first research:

investigation as to the socio-economic, cultural and aptitude factors which influence scholastic achievement.

Investigations of this type, carried out over a sufficient length of time (8 years) have not yet been realized in our country. Although this has been done in other countries, in Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian countries in particular, the precious information collected as to methods and theories, expressed in general terms, has not proved to be of practical use because of the radical differences in our scholastic structures, didactic methods or evaluation standards. Through our research work we hope to be able to give scientific significance to the activities carried out by our D.A.G.C. Programme in connection with the socio-economic and cultural factors which condition the effective school results of pupils in general.

The material collected so far by the D.A.G.C. Programme is considerable; information regarding aptitudes, scholastic and home environments, based on the study of several thousand cases.

We further aim to study the relative importance of a group of factors, relating to aptitudes or socio-economic environmental or familial factors, which can be promptly detected, in connection with:

- the possibility of further studies, at the end of the obligatory school cycle
- the choice of differently orientated study programmes
- scholastic achievement, to be evaluated until the end of the higher secondary school cycle.

In fact, the aim of our actual research is to give Italian schools effective means to be used on a large scale in the simplest way possible; to enable school personnel to detect probable success or failure in scholastic work as early as possible, to estimate cases involving the interruption or the continuation of studies; to evaluate correct or erroneous vocational orientations in these cases, in view of adopting adequate measures promptly to neutralize and possibly correct negative factors which may arise.

2) The second research work undertaken under the auspices of the National Council for Research was based on the following criteria:

Investigation as to the causes of scholastic failure among scholarship holders in the higher secondary schools.

The aim of this research was to discover basic causative factors responsible for lack of scholastic achievement among scholarship holders in higher secondary schools, found to be intellectually gifted and belonging to economically and culturally deprived families.

The seriousness of this problem is all the more evident, if we consider the high proportion of scholastically unsuccessful candidates among these scholarship holders, and the complexity of social and cultural problems implied: problems which can be

detected each time we contact one of the subjects in question. The aims of this research work is:

- to determine to what extent the socio-economic handicaps and other environmental deficiencies condition the scholastic efficiency of intellectually gifted pupils;
- to evaluate the degree to which specific experiences within the school (type of studies, teachers' personality) can determine lack of scholastic achievement in these subjects;
- to evaluate the influence of other personal factors (health, psychological factors leading to maladjustment, errors in vocational orientation), whenever these cannot be traced, as in the case of lack of scholastic achievement, to environmental conditioning factors or to direct school experiences.

c) Research work in connection with objective tests to measure proficiency in Mathematics.

The starting point of these objective tests was the practical need to determine the degree of preparation of the scholarship holders attending the first year of secondary schools. They were meant to reveal possible difficulties in this field so that we could organize scholastic assistance for the more seriously handicapped.

It was decided, subsequently, to include additional objectives and widen our field of research.

These objectives were:

- the elaboration of an objective test to determine proficiency in Mathematics (under 2 distinct aspects: Algebra, and Geometry) based on the three year secondary school curriculum, and for the benefit of:

a) 3rd year lower secondary school teachers, as an achievement test for the pupils, at the end of the school year, as a means to individualize gaps in their preparation. Consequently, systematic review programmes could be elaborated in view of final examinations at the end of the school cycle.

b) 1st year higher secondary school teachers to determine the achievement level of their pupils at the beginning of the school year, and individualize gaps in their preparation, so as to enable them to review the subject systematically both on a class and individual level.

- to check on possible correlative factors in Mathematical proficiency (based on objective tests), general and specific aptitudes, and subjective evaluations formulated by the teachers themselves (grades).

— to collect documentary evidence as to the diversity of levels in Mathematical Proficiency in various lower secondary schools in Milan and diversities of expected levels of proficiencies to be reached according to the type of higher secondary school involved. The evidence collected would then be considered in the light of the minimum standards in Mathematical proficiency expected to be met according to the basic secondary school programme.

- to attempt to introduce new criteria in the evaluation of scholastic achievement both in lower and higher secondary schools.

4) RELATED ACTIVITIES

These activities refer to various D.A.G.C. programmes, undertaken in different towns in the Northern part of Italy, which I shall outline further on. This does not however include the South D.A.G.C. Programme implemented by the I.R.I. (Institute for Reconstruction in Italy) in Taranto, during a three year (1963-1966) period, and later taken up again, after a few modifications had been decided upon by the Ministry for State School Education (the abbreviated form of the name given to our Programme was also changed to « E.S.A.I. »).

At this point I should like to point out the important significance of the fact that our D.A.G.C. Programmes have been extended to various centers of Italy having different backgrounds from the social, economic and cultural point of view.

Aside from the moral significance attached to the fact that other people have thought

of taking an active interest in school affairs and decided to profit by the experience initiated and developed in Milan, we should also consider the fact that this work, carried out in totally different conditions from those inherent to the outskirts of a large city, have been of immense interest for us.

Thus, while in certain cases the knowledge and experience gained in Milan were consolidated and confirmed by these new experimental centers, in other cases programmes which proved impossible to realize in Milan were actually put in practice successfully.

This ramification of our Programme became very intense in Lombardy at first, as well as in the Venice and Friuli areas, and likewise in the Province of Taranto, as mentioned previously; this was followed by a pause between 1965 and 1967 and a healthy proliferation from 1968 until today, in the Venice area in particular.

From our point of view this gradual development over the years was considered favourably, since we wanted to assure ourselves of the possibility of cooperation and at the same time to be in a position to offer opportune consultation services to all as well as direct help whenever it became necessary.

GENERAL NOTIONS AS TO INDIVIDUAL "RELATED ACTIVITIES" of our D.A.G.C. PROGRAMME

— D.A.G.C. Monza

During four years, from 1964 to 1968, a series of activities were carried out in two schools located in the town, involving about 1000 children, and in strict collaboration with the Vocational Guidance Center.

This Organization, in order to avoid the harmful effects on scholastic life which might have resulted from simultaneous intervention in similar fields, assumed the responsibility for psychological and vocational guidance services, which already formed part of their programme, combining these two functions into one.

As a result our D.A.G.C. Programme was rather restricted in its range of actions, having to limit itself to activities which aimed mainly to develop or unify those in all other sectors of scholastic life.

During the 1968-1969 school year, we organized a Cultural Club for scholarship holders, who were further assisted by qualified personnel in matters concerning both the school or the family.

— D.A.G.C. Carate-Seregno

In Carate, the D.A.G.C. found the "D. Alighieri School" a suitable seat from which the initial phase of development of its programme could be carried out, that is until June 1968.

The Co-ordinating President of D.A.G.C. and our team of experts worked seriously and with enthusiasm towards the development of our Programme, communicating to the teachers themselves their own faith in formative and cultural values to be imparted to the students. During these three years, 11 students were selected (2 of whom have now received their diploma) as worthy of receiving scholarships; it may be of interest to note that their scholastic achievement always remained at a high level.

Since the beginning of the 1968-69 school year, the D.A.G.C. Programme, because of difficulties which arose in the Carate school, was transferred to the "Manzoni" Secondary School in Seregno, whose worthy Headmaster also showed enthusiasm for our initiatives.

In view of this premise and the unusual maturity showed by the teachers who also turned out to be effective collaborators of the Headmaster, we found it relatively easy to include our own services.

Two of these teachers proved to be efficient "animators". The two Cultural Clubs formed, one in the Humanities and the other in Scientific disciplines, also met with success. Likewise, our scholarship assistance programme was carried out normally, under all aspects.

— D.A.G.C. Saronno

Our programme in this town is now in its fourth year; it involves 500 pupils attending

the "Bescapè" School. The Cultural Clubs proved to be outstanding for their dynamic cultural-didactic-educative characteristics. Right from the first day two teachers/animators developed activities connected with the newspaper and theater of the school; they evidently found a corresponding interest on the part of the pupils to the extent that they, themselves, decided to meet in groups almost every afternoon. The permission to use the school for this purpose was granted by the Headmaster on the condition that the animator should be present for the occasion. Official Club meetings are then held on Saturdays only. This year, the Theater Club was replaced by another creative activity: group painting. About 20 boys, divided in groups, painted a series of panels illustrating different subjects (human labour for instance), each of which in turn was made up of several panels.

This work demanded consistent effort on the part of the boys involved and the animators as well, since it was the first time a complete project was undertaken and new and more difficult techniques were put into practice.

— *D.A.G.C. Sesto San Giovanni*

This programme was initiated in the 1965/66 school year and involved only our "partial alternative programme" which did not include cultural activities. Nevertheless, the pedagogical qualities of the Headmistress in charge of the selected school (the Forlanini Secondary School) and her cooperation in developing a suitable programme for individualization purposes together with the social worker, gave us the possibility of selecting a group of pupils for scholarship awards, who proved to have higher qualifications than any scholarship holders previously selected in other schools. This was possible thanks to the more intensive collaboration of all the teachers, who for the most part had been officially appointed to the school, and who were therefore better acquainted with our D.A.G.C. Programme.

— *D.A.G.C. Varese*

Our activities in this region were carried out over a three year period in the "D. Alighieri" and "A. Righi" schools which count more than 1000 pupils altogether. The D.A.G.C. activities were carried out over a four year period, developing all sectors involved to its fullest possibility. Only during the 4th year, i.e. in 1967-68, we could not select any pupils for scholarship awards.

A full team of experts was continually on hand, working as usual, for a common end. Last year our cultural programme took on new aspects through new initiatives (cultural trips, visits to Art Galleries, research work in the History of Art, listening to records followed by group discussions etc.). These activities were then examined and discussed with the pedagogue to evaluate their pedagogical or didactic contribution to the school and estimate the reactions of pupils and teachers as well. They were also considered as possible means to fill eventual gaps in the individual pupil's education.

— *D.A.G.C. UDINE*

This programme was developed during the 1965 school year, within two secondary schools in S. Pietro and S. Leonardo al Natisone, on the Italo-Yugoslav frontier. The development of our Programme in this area was so dynamic in the first two years that we might even consider it as "astonishing," and we must admit that a great part of the credit should be attributed to the Headmaster in charge. As a matter of fact, as an outgrowth of our experimental work carried out in Cultural Clubs, three "doposcuola" centers, subsidized by the state, have now been functioning since last year.

The D.A.G.C. Programme offers its full services to all concerned (free transportation to and from the near-by valleys, free lunches, supervised open-air activities). These activities have had wide echo among the local people, living as they do in extremely economically depressed areas.

Since the beginning of the 1967/68 school year, our experimental work was extended to a third school in the village of Maniago, North of Pordenone, under the auspices of the local Rotary Club. This was also meant as an indirect form of assistance in favour of homeless victims of the Vajont disaster, since a certain number of children belonging to families who had found refuge in Maniago were enrolled in the village school.

In Udine itself, the D.A.G.C. Programme almost immediately assumed the character-

ristics of an Association to which Rotary members also belong on a legal basis, receiving financial support from the latter, as well as contributions from the Provinces of Pordenone, Gorizia and Trieste; each year, the Regional Boards renew their contribution upon the request of various schools which have adopted our D.A.G.C. Programme.

Contributions are also received from the Chamber of Commerce, the Friuli Bank and others.

Our Programmes grew in number through the initiative of the San Donà Piave-Portogruaro Rotary Club. Under the technical-organizational direction of the President of the Udine D.A.G.C. Association, as requested by the Rotary Club, a new programme will get under way in an economically depressed area in the Province of Venice; our work in the selected school should begin in October 1969.

— D.A.G.C. *Vicenza*

Our work there began in 1965 in the following areas: in Noventa Vicentina, in Valdarno, in the town of Vicenza, and during the 1967/68 period was also extended to Bassano del Grappa.

It began through the initiative of the Industrialists' Association, which then invited 6 other organizations to collaborate:

- Rotary
- Chamber of Commerce
- Commune of Vicenza
- Provincial Administration Board
- Board of Education
- Provincial Board for Technical Studies

The posts held by members of the last two Boards are purely honorary.

The teachers showed exceptional qualities, in that they cooperated with seriousness of purpose and great enthusiasm. The team of experts, consisting of four coordinators of the schools in town, proved to have the maturity of mind and sense of responsibility necessary, which was then communicated to all workers concerned, psychologist and social worker included.

In this case, as in Udine, the D.A.G.C. Programme developed all the sectors involved, offering services which, in view of the human dimensions of the localities in which they were carried out, can be said to be community services, in the truest sense of the word. In two schools out of four, the work of integration was carried through financial help from the D.A.G.C. These funds were used to increase and expand those programmes which had already been partially realized through funds from the Ministry and spontaneous contributions of the local families who seemed to be most appreciative of the work effectuated in favour of their children.

Our cultural programme included assistance to those children who needed help to keep up with their studies, as suggested by the teachers themselves, as well as complementary activities of the official scholastic programme.

The four D.A.G.C. schools include around 2500 pupils who benefit from our services; twenty scholarships (full) were awarded, sums of money were assigned to other pupils as book-allowances, and our assistance services have always been available to our scholarship holders or those who held scholarships from Public Organizations, and our alumni as well. This assistance has been available not only during the scholastic year but during holidays as well, either through supplementary lessons on a group-work basis, or through special activities, camping in the mountains or on the school grounds. The purpose of these activities was not only to offer collective group experience to the pupils but to encourage further study and research.

5) PUBLICATIONS AND APTITUDE TESTS ELABORATED BY THE D.A.G.C.

a) Publications

Right from the start, the D.A.G.C. Programme took measures to publish an information bulletin which was mimeographed at first and later printed. It also published reports on

specific problems. But as the need grew for more exhaustive accounts of results obtained, both from the scientific and practical points of view, plans were made to publish Monographs in a systematic order. Nevertheless their publication will not follow in the same order since the criteria used for their elaboration differ from those established for publication purposes. The first volumes published will therefore illustrate in a general and thorough manner the aims and methods on which our aptitude tests were based, as well as characteristic data revealed through statistical analysis of results obtained on a vast scale.

Other volumes will follow stating the broad outlines of our D.A.G.C. Programme in compulsory State schools and the particular methods of work adopted in each. Several of the Monographs will deal with research work in particular, including the results of the research work in question. Our plans regarding Monographs, several of which have already been published while others are still in the process of elaboration, are as follows:

— Volume 1: "Methods adopted in connection with our D.A.G.C. Programme" (in preparation) - in which a critical evaluation of the nature and methods adopted in connection with D.A.G.C. activities and their development are clearly outlined. Extensive analysis of the three fundamental dimensions of our Programme (psychological, social and pedagogical) has also been included in this volume. It also comprises all the available data to illustrate the extent and usefulness of policies adopted (relative to our work of individualization or other activities in secondary schools, or to assistance to scholarship holders).

— Volume 2: "Cultural Tests to evaluate intellectual capacity" by Ornella Andreani Dentici (already published). This Monograph gives an account, with all the scientific caution necessary in this case but with the assurance derived from a scrupulous verification of the hypothesis involved, of the work carried out to realize a series of psycho-diagnostic tests which were essential for the selection of deserving students who needed assistance in order to continue their studies, according to the aims of our D.A.G.C. Programme.

— Volume 3: "Psychological problems involved in creativity" by Gabriele Calvi (already published).

This volume is made up of a collection of documentary reports on research work carried out by the author and his collaborators to elaborate first of all a valid test to measure creative thinking and secondly to establish adequate measurement scales.

— Volume 4: "The 'G' Test to measure general intelligence" (in preparation) by Gabriele Calvi.

This volume consists of documentary reports in connection with this test, which has been adopted by our D.A.G.C. Programme.

— Volume 5: "Gifted Children and their personality" by Ornella Andreani Dentici (in preparation).

— Volume 6: "Enrichment activities and the Doposcuola" (in preparation). This volume will include contributions by various members of our D.A.G.C. team who, for the past years, have collaborated in our secondary schools' Programmes. It will serve to illustrate the wider range and give concrete examples of our activities related to the cultural enrichment of pupils, of their function within the doposcuola itself, and of the organization of doposcuola in general.

— Volume 7: "Related Activities" (in preparation).

This volume will comprise documentary reports based on the actual experience of D.A.G.C. workers in different towns of Italy and a critical evaluation of the flexibility potential of our Programme in relation to different local conditions, different possibilities of available resources, personnel, or cultural-pedagogical fields of interest.

— Volume 8: relating to "Diagnostic Test in Mathematics" (in preparation).

Aside from methods of elaboration and results of analysis of statistics obtained, this volume also includes information and directions for its use in the 1st year of secondary school.

— Volume 9: we are planning to publish a book relating to the research work carried out in connection with scholastic maladjustment problems in collaboration

with the Bernard Van Leer Foundation. The information given in this book will not be limited to the cognitive phase only, but will also include the results of activities carried out in connection with pedagogical assistance.

— Volume 10: to be published in order to report on the results obtained in research work carried out under the auspices of the National Council for Research.

— Volume 11: to be published as a Monograph drawn up by the Headmaster of the "Piatti" School, who shared the experiences of our D.A.G.C. workers within his school. He will also express his own opinion, together with those of other Headmasters, as to his experiences in connection with the "Related Activities Programme".

b) Aptitude Tests elaborated by the D.A.G.C.

These aptitude tests, elaborated by Institutes and experts upon our request, can be considered valid for use in Italian schools, since we ascertained their validity as to contents and measurement scales.

These tests have given us the opportunity to make longitudinal studies of pupils' aptitudes during the secondary school cycle, and elaborate a series of psycho-diagnostic tests suitable for the individualization of deserving students in need of assistance to continue their studies, as provided by our D.A.G.C. statutory provisions. Right from the start, we opportunely requested that these tests not only serve for this specific purpose, as diagnostic-prognostic means, but could also be applied for more general purposes. Thanks to the solid theories on which they rest, based on extensive studies of up-to-date material on the subject and wide personal experience, this series of tests can be considered as the very first instruments available in Italy to evaluate basic scholastic capacities, whether literary or technico-scientific; an instrument suitable for application in any sector of the population in Italy, and in our case to pupils in two different crucial periods of their scholastic life, to assess the final account of their scholastic achievement and evaluate possibilities for future vocations. The tests which have been so far elaborated are the following:

— "G" Test: non verbal, reaction Intelligence Test; elaborated to evaluate general reasoning capacities, without taking into account, whenever possible, cultural influences or verbal ability, in the final assessment of results.

— "V1" Test; "V2" Test: reaction tests to evaluate verbally expressed reasoning capacity for pupils within the 11-12 age range and the 13-14 age range.

— "Q" Test and "Q2" Test: reaction tests to evaluate quantitative-Mathematical reasoning, for pupils in the 11-12 and 13-14 age range.

— "E" test: to evaluate creative ability whenever standard scales of measurements are available.

By taking these tests into consideration as well as information collected as to the personality and interests of the pupils, their scholastic achievement and socio-cultural background of the families involved, accurate and precise evaluations can be achieved. This premise is indispensable in view of the serious aims of pedagogical activities involved, whether they are viewed as a whole or on an individual basis.

Numerous other tests are on stocks, relating to research work on scholastic maladjustment problems in collaboration with the Bernard Van Leer Foundation (no. 3 above). As for the Mathematical Proficiency test, I believe I have included it in a previous argument.

6) OFFICIAL RECOGNITIONS

The D.A.G.C. Programme gained public recognition in the course of the last few years through the following awards: First Class Diploma for Meritorious Service to the Schools, in the Cultural and Artistic Fields (June 1968, awarded by the Italian Head of State); a Prize was also awarded by the Prime Minister and his Cabinet.

EINGLIEDERUNG GEISTESSCHWACHER JUGENDLICHEN IN DIE GESELLSCHAFT

Dr. Maria Egg

Ob geistig reich oder arm, der Mensch hat zu seinem Glück Beachtung und Anerkennung so nötig wie das tägliche Brot.

Diese lebensnotwendige Anerkennung aber zu erlangen, ist dem Geistesschwachen erschwert. Das Tragische an der Geistesschwäche ist nicht die Behinderung selbst, sondern die Tatsache, dass es so viele Menschen gibt, die den geistig Behinderten nicht annehmen, sondern ihn ablehnen und ihm die Würde absprechen, die jedem menschlichen Wesen zukommt. Der Geistesschwache hat ein feines Gefühl dafür wie die Menschen ihm begegnen.

Er kann im allgemeinen nicht mit Worten ausdrücken, was er empfindet, innerlich reagiert er aber trotzdem mit einer reichen Skala von Gefühlen auf alles, was ihm begegnet. Wenn er herangewachsen ist, so hat er auch ein dumpfes Gefühl für seine Andersartigkeit bekommen. Sicherlich können die Wenigsten vernunftmässig die Bedeutung ihrer Behinderung ermessen, aber sie fühlen, dass sie sich irgendwie von anderen Jugendlichen ihres Alters unterscheiden. Mit diesem Gefühl haben sie Teil an dem Leid, welches das Schicksal jeder Art von behinderten Menschen auferlegt. Die Tatsache der Behinderung muss der Mensch als Teil seines Lebens annehmen. Das daraus notwendigerweise entstehende Leid können wir dem jungen Menschen nicht abnehmen, aber mindern können wir es.

Im Laufe seines Heranwachsens muss der Geistesschwache lernen hinzunehmen und zu ertragen. Er muss vieles und vielerlei ertragen: Tadel, Unfreundlichkeit, Zurücksetzung, Hänseleien. Er — oder sie — muss sich gar manches gefallen lassen und darf es nicht zu Streitigkeiten kommen lassen, denn in einem Streit mit gesunden Altersgenossen wird der geistig Behinderte immer den kürzeren ziehen. Ungeachtet dessen, dass er im Recht ist oder nicht, muss er ausweichen. Wehren darf er — oder sie — sich nicht. Beim gesunden Jugendlichen ist es Ziel der Erziehung, ihm den Mut zum Sich-Wehren zu vermitteln. Beim geistig Behinderten ist unser Ziel, dass er den Mut findet sich nicht zu wehren.

Es ist nicht leicht, hier den goldenen Mittelweg zu finden. Wohl soll der junge Mensch friedfertig sein, aber er soll kein Feigling, kein Drückeberger werden, auch dann nicht, wenn er geistig behindert ist. Somit sind wir zur philosophisch-weltanschaulichen Frage gelangt, was mutiger ist: zu kämpfen oder zu erdulden? Eine Frage, die ich hier sicherlich nicht erschöpfend genug beantworten kann. Denn es ist etwas ganz anderes, wenn jemand aus dem Gefühl der Überlegenheit auf den Kampf verzichtet, als wenn einer von vorneherein seine Unterlegenheit fühlt und deswegen den Kampf meidet. Es ist ein himmelweiter Unterschied, ob sich einer seiner Kraft bewusst ist und trotzdem erduldet, oder ob einer aus Schwäche etwas erdulden muss. Die Geistesschwachen werden nie und nirgends die Überlegenen, die Kräftigeren sein. Ein freiwilliger Rückzug ist eine stolze Tat; ein Rückzug, zu dem man sich gezwungen fühlt, ist eine Niederlage. Der Geistesschwache erlebt sie oft und in verschiedenen Abwandlungen. Ersparen können wir ihm dies nicht, aber wir können es mittragen.

Vom Geistesschwachen wird viel erwartet. Es gibt Eigenschaften, die immer und überall von ihm verlangt werden. Man bezeichnet sie mit den Worten: Sanftmut, Demut, Freundlichkeit, gute Laune, Heiterkeit, sonniges Wesen. Wenn sie verloren gehen, empfindet man ihn als lästig oder gar als missraten. Nur der Gesunde kann sich erlauben « böse » zu sein, denn von ihm verlangt die Gesellschaft vorwiegend die Leistung. Wie steht es aber mit der Sanftmut und der Demut? Dies sind die höchsten sittlichen Haltungen, die der Mensch seinen Mitmenschen gegenüber einnehmen kann. Man konfrontiert die Behinderten viel mehr mit ihnen als die Gesunden. Die normalen, durchschnittlichen Menschen geben im allgemeinen den Begriffen Sanftmut und Demut in ihrem Dasein einen sehr begrenzten Inhalt, sozusagen einen « Sonntags-Inhalt », so dass man in der Welt des Alltags, in einer Welt der Sachlichkeit und der Betriebsamkeit meist wenig davon merkt. An die Geistesschwachen hingegen stellt man bis in die konkreten Situationen des menschlichen Lebens hinein die Forderung der Sanftmut und der Demut immer und überall, selbst beim Gedränge in einer überfüllten Strassenbahn.

Im Leben des geistig behinderten Jugendlichen spielen diese Probleme der Anpassung eine ganz besonders wichtige Rolle. Ihre Eigenarten sind ja viel ausgeprägter als beim durchschnittlichen Jugendlichen, sie fallen stärker auf und werden von vornherein kritischer beobachtet. Ihre Anpassungsfähigkeit ist hingegen geringer, weil diese nicht durch die Vernunft geleitet werden kann, sondern nur durch die Gewöhnung. Die alltägliche Umwelt, die übrige Bevölkerung der Nachbarschaft, die gesunden Glieder der Gruppe erschweren ihnen vielfach die Anpassung durch Meidung, Zurückweisung und durch mehr oder minder unsanfte Ausstossung. Die Eingliederung in die Gemeinschaft der gesunden Altersgenossen ist umso schwerer, als die geistig Behinderten nicht durch Schaden klug werden. Durch Schaden können sie nur geschädigt werden.

So setzt die an sich gesunde Korrektur der nicht pädagogischen Jugendgruppe neue Schäden. Durch ständige Zusammenstösse im Umgang mit anderen Menschen werden sie immer mehr entmutigt. So kommt es, dass viele geistig Behinderte entmutigte, leidgezeichnete Menschen sind, wenn sie das Alter des Erwachsenen erreichen. Allein schon ihr Wesen, ihre Eigenarten, ihre Andersartigkeit ist Grund genug zum Konflikt mit der Umwelt, und da die Umwelt nicht heilpädagogisch eingestellt sein kann, sind die Folgen für den Behinderten in der Regel unerfreulich. Trotzdem werden sie durch Schaden nicht klug, zum grossen Staunen ihrer jeweiligen Umgebung.

Die unbeteiligte Umwelt, die Welt der gesunden Jugendlichen kann nicht dahin beeinflusst werden, dass sie vom Geistesschwachen alles erduldet. Dies ist unmöglich. Der Behinderte ist es, der zur Anpassungsfähigkeit erzogen werden muss. Denn die Gesellschaft kann sich nicht ihm, sondern in allen wesentlichen Lebensgebieten wird er sich anpassen müssen. Anpassungsbereitschaft bedeutet nun aber nicht Ausmerzungen der Individualität, sondern nur Bereitschaft, Opfer zu bringen zum Wohle des Ganzen, Anerkennung der Rechte der Gemeinschaft und der Pflichten des Einzelnen. Hierzu ist auch der geistig Behinderte innerhalb seiner naturgegebenen Grenzen fähig.

Darüber hinaus wollen wir auch dafür sorgen, dass der geistig Behinderte die Beachtung und die Anerkennung erlangt, die jeder Mensch für sein Glück braucht.

Es ist nicht schwer zu erreichen, dass man beachtet wird. Durch aufgeputzte Kleidung oder durch dumme Streiche kann auch der Geistesschwache am leichtesten Beachtung erlangen. Aber diese Erfolge sind schal; sie erwecken keine wahre Freude, keine innere Zufriedenheit. Das Verlangen nach Geltung

bleibt unbefriedigt. Wie eine ständig schmerzende Wunde, veranlasst das schmerzende Geltungsbedürfnis zu immer neuen Unarten, zu auffälligen Handlungen. So entsteht das Bild des Flegels, das umso unerträglicher ist, je weniger es durch den Verstand in Zaum gehalten wird.

Beachtung genügt nicht zum Glück und zur harmonischen Einordnung in die Gemeinschaft: dazu braucht es auch Anerkennung. Anerkennung findet der geistesschwache Mensch nur durch sein Tun. Darum müssen wir ihn zu echten Leistungen führen. In unserer Gesellschaftsordnung ist auch ein Geistesschwacher nur dann befriedigt, wenn er eine berufsmässige Beschäftigung ausüben kann.

Sind die Imbezillen überhaupt zu einem Beruf geeignet? Die soziale Prognose eines Menschen hängt von zwei Faktoren ab: von der Intelligenz und vom Charakter. Was aus einem Menschen wird, das hängt vom Grad seiner Intelligenz und von der Art seines Charakters ab: dabei ist der Charakter entscheidend. Das ist das Tröstliche für unsere Geistesschwachen. Die Erfahrung zeigt, dass ein gutmütiger, fleissiger, wohlzogener Geistesschwacher leichter in den Arbeitsprozess eingegliedert werden kann, als ein viel besser begabter aber streitsüchtiger und unsteter Schwererziehbarer.

Eine regelrechte Berufslehre können sie freilich nicht durchmachen. Andererseits dürfen wir sie nicht von der Schule direkt ins Berufsleben hinausschicken, sonst sind die doppelt behindert: einesteiis behindert durch ihre Geistesschwäche, zum zweiten behindert durch Mangel an Berufsausbildung. Ihre Berufsausbildung erhalten sie in besonderen Anlernwerkstätten. Hier wird durch eigens für sie ausgearbeitete Methoden ihr Arbeitscharakter, ihre Ausdauer und Handgeschicklichkeit gefördert. Daneben sollen sie sich die grundlegenden Kenntnisse über die gangbarsten Werkzeuge und über einfache Maschinen aneignen. Sie werden methodisch eingeschult auf geeignete manuelle oder maschinelle Serienarbeiten, die sie später in der Wirtschaft als Hilfsarbeiter ausüben können.

Der Weg der beruflichen Eingliederung ist ausführlich geschildert in meinem Buch «Andere Menschen-anderer Lebensweg» (Schweizer Spiegel Verlag, Zürich).

Vor fünfzehn Jahren, als wir die Anlernwerkstatt gegründet haben, waren wir optimistisch und dachten, nun können wir alle wohlgeschulten Geistesschwachen in der freien Wirtschaft plazieren, zumal wir Arbeitermangel haben.

Diese Hoffnung hat sich nicht erfüllt. Trotz sorgfältiger Schulung kann nur ein Drittel der Imbezillen in der freien Wirtschaft eingegliedert werden. Für die zwei anderen Drittel müssen neue Wege gesucht werden. Die Lösung liegt in der Errichtung «beschützender Werkstätten», in denen die Geistesschwachen während unbegrenzter Jahre beschäftigt werden können.

So gründete ich im Jahre 1959 die erste Zürcher Dauerwerkstatt, in der heute 80 geistig Behinderte arbeiten. Wie in jeder beschützenden Werkstatt, so führen auch wir Serienarbeiten für Handel und Industrie durch, und zwar sowohl in Handarbeit als auch mit einfachen Maschinen. Die meisten dieser grossen Firmen, die uns mit Aufträgen versorgen, kommen zum erstenmal in Berührung mit Geistesschwachen: sie staunen nicht nur über deren Leistungsfähigkeit, sondern auch über deren Gutmütigkeit und Wohlerzogenheit, und so hat sich manches im Publikum herrschende Vorurteil in Nichts aufgelöst. Dadurch, dass wir Geistesschwache in Verbindung mit führenden Persönlichkeiten des Wirtschaftslebens bringen, verbreitet sich die Erkenntnis, dass auch geistig Behinderte brauchbare und sympathische Persönlichkeiten sein können.

Die Verschiedenheit der Aufträge ist erwünscht, denn es soll keine sture Monotonie herrschen. Wir wollen aus den Geistesschwachen keine Roboter machen, die in der Eintönigkeit einfachster Verrichtungen verkümmern. Auf der andern Seite wollen wir auch keine wirklichkeitsfremde Idylle schaffen, in der erwachsene Menschen mit spielerischem Tand ihre Tage verbringen, indem sie unbrauchbare Sachen machen, die auf einem Wohltätigkeitsbazar dann doch noch verkauft werden. Wir wollen nicht basteln, wir wollen arbeiten. Das ist zweierlei. Beim Arbeiten muss der Masstab der Produktion vorschweben.

Auch die Geistesschwachen haben ein Gefühl dafür, was nützlich ist. Auch sie sind stolz auf einen noch so kleinen Lohn, der ihnen nicht einfach geschenkt wurde, sondern den sie sich redlich verdient haben. Auch ihr Selbstbewusstsein hebt sich bei jeder Lohnerhöhung wie dies bei ihren Vätern der Fall ist. Die beschützende Werkstatt soll weder eine Fabrik, noch eine arbeitstherapeutische Institution sein, sondern ein Mittelding. Dies zu erreichen ist nicht leicht, zumal keine untere Fähigkeitsgrenze festgelegt wurde. Die einzige Bedingung ist, dass sich die Leute selber fortbewegen können. Somit sind nur die bettlägerigen Pflegefälle ausgeschlossen.

Es geht dabei nicht in erster Linie um die Nutzbarmachung von noch brachliegenden Arbeitskräften für das Wirtschaftsleben. So arm ist die Schweiz nicht — so arm ist Italien auch nicht —, dass sie nicht ein paar Geistesschwache tragen könnte. Wer darin den letzten Sinn der Bemühungen um den Behinderten sehen würde, der wäre einigermaßen verwandt mit jenen Menschen, die die Theorie des « lebensunwerten Lebens » propagierten. Der Mensch ist nicht nur das wert, was er schafft, sondern das, was er ist. Es geht um seine Eingliederung in die menschliche Gemeinschaft. Durch ihre Zugehörigkeit zur Welt der Tätigen sind auch diese Schwächsten in das soziale Gefüge unserer Gesellschaft eingegliedert. Dadurch haben sie ein menschenwürdiges Dasein.

Das ist der letzte Sinn all unseres Denkens über den Geistesschwachen, all unseres Tuns und Sorgens für ihn, ihm zu einem menschenwürdigen Dasein zu verhelfen. Denn trotz aller Behinderung in den geistigen Funktionen, trotz aller Armut der Aeusserungen gehört auch der Schwächste, auch der auf tiefster Stufe stehende Gebrechliche zu jenem Gebilde von eigener Würde und eigener Schönheit, das wir mit dem Sammelnamen Mensch bezeichnen.

SOCIAL REHABILITATION OF MENTALLY RETARDED ADOLESCENTS

by Dr. Maria Egg

Whether rich or poor in spirit, man, in order to consider himself happy, has always needed to gain recognition and feel appreciated, as much as he has needed his daily bread.

But for mentally retarded individuals, this right, which is just as fundamental for them as for others, is not easily recognized. The tragedy facing these disabled individuals is not so much the handicap itself but the fact that so many people refuse to accept them and even reject them, denying their right to human dignity. These mentally retarded subjects usually have a very subtle sensitivity by "feeling" the reactions of other to themselves. Generally speaking a mentally retarded individual is not able to express what he feels clearly, but his intimate reactions to experiences include a wide range of feelings. When they reach adulthood, these subjects will already have acquired the sensation of "being different from others". It may be true that they are hardly ever capable of evaluating the extent of their own disablement, but they still feel "different" in some ways from adolescents of their age. Through this sensation they are directly involved in the collective sufferings of all those who are handicapped in some way. As men they must accept these handicaps as part of the realities of life. The sufferings which ensue cannot perhaps be totally eradicated but we certainly can be of some help in mitigating them.

All through adolescence, a mentally retarded subject must learn to "stomach" and endure certain situations. He must bear with many things: criticisms, hostility, injustice, derisions. He — or she — must often put on a happy face in unfair situations, and avoid quarrels in particular, since in quarrels with members of his own age group the mentally handicapped child will be declared in the wrong. Whether he is right or wrong he must give in. He cannot offer resistance. While education, in the case of healthy adolescents, must aim to inculcate courage in order to defend themselves, in the case of mentally retarded children it must be directed towards giving them courage not to defend themselves.

In this field it is not so easy to find ideal half-way measures. It is quite true that adolescents must be peaceful individuals, but it is also true that they must not be cowards, "shirkers", not even when they are mentally handicapped. We are thus brought about to face the ideological-philosophical query: what in effect requires more courage, to fight or to endure? This is a question to which I certainly cannot give exhaustive answers on this occasion. In fact it is quite a different matter to renounce fighting because one is conscious of one's own superiority and knowing a priori the extent of one's inferiority and avoid a fight for this reason. There is a profound difference between the case of an individual who is willing to endure a situation knowing the extent of his strength, and the case of an individual compelled to endure a situation because of his own weakness. Mentally handicapped subjects will never prove to be the strongest, the superior elements, under any circumstances. Voluntary retreat can be an act of pride; retreat, when one feels compelled to do so, is always a defeat. Mentally handicapped subjects experience this quite often and in all its variations. If it is true that we cannot always save them from these unpleasant experiences, we can, on the other hand help them to bear this burden.

Normally, quite a lot is expected from mentally handicapped subjects. There are various qualities that we expect to find in this type of child in every circumstance: gentleness, humility, politeness, a nice disposition, a happy and gay temper. If he should be found lacking in any of these qualities, he is immediately considered as a troublesome subject or even an uncouth individual. Only those who are "healthy" can afford to be "bad", since society on the whole tends, above all, to consider men for what they can achieve. What part do gentleness and humility play in the life of men? They represent the highest moral attitudes that man can assume in regards to

his fellow-men. And yet handicapped subjects are confronted by them much more often than normal people. Average normal men, usually attribute a very limited value to these concepts of gentleness and humility restricted to be indulged in on special occasions perhaps, so that during the course of their every-day life and in the realm of practical experience and activities, only a pale shade of these virtues ever transpire. On the other hand, gentleness and humility are always expected from sub-normal subjects and on all occasions, even when they have to squeeze their way through a crowd on a tram.

These problems of social adaptation in the life of sub-normal adolescents are particularly important. Their characteristics are more pronounced than in the average adolescent; they are therefore more evident and tend to be criticized more severely right from the start. Furthermore their capacity of adaptation is reduced, since it cannot be guided by rational reflexion but only through habit patterns. Their usual environment — including neighbours and sane members of the group — often contributes to make this adaptation even more difficult, by avoiding these subjects, rejecting them or excluding them in a more or less harsh manner. The social rehabilitation of these subjects within a group of young people of the same age is further complicated by the fact that these individuals are not capable of learning by experience. A painful experience serves only ... as a painful experience. In this way, punishment, perhaps valid in itself, inflicted by the group pedagogically non-qualified, only serves to intensify the harm already suffered. These continuous conflicts in relationships with others tend to discourage them more and more. Thus mentally handicapped individuals reach adulthood, as discouraged human-beings, marked by their sufferings. Their very nature, their characteristics, the fact that they are "different from others", are already sufficient motives for conflicts to arise in their environment, and since the latter cannot be regulated by pedagogical-therapeutic attitudes, this situation usually leads to unpleasant consequences for the subjects involved. Still, they will not learn from experience and this never ceases to be a source of wonder for those around them.

We cannot pretend that normal community groups, including adolescents, should always be compelled to suffer mentally handicapped individuals. This is impossible. But it may be possible to train these mentally retarded subjects to adapt themselves to their environment. In fact, society will never be able to adapt itself to them, but they, instead, must adapt themselves to society in all its essential, vital phases.

Capacity for social integration does not necessarily imply suffocation of the personality (individuality) but simply means that one is willing to make sacrifices for the good of the community, to recognize the rights of the community and the duties of each of its members. Mentally retarded individuals are capable of all this, if only within certain limits, due to their natural mental limitations.

At the same time we must promote ways in which mentally handicapped individuals can obtain recognition and appreciation which are basic needs for every human being in order to feel happy. It is not too difficult to catch the attention of our fellow-men. Dressing-up or playing the fool are means which even mentally retarded individuals could adopt to gain recognition: but success along this line has little significance for them, does not bring real pleasure or really gratify their ego. Their desire to be appreciated remains unsatisfied. Like an open wound, this need to obtain recognition from others will drive them to assume new foolish attitudes or to commit foolish acts. Thus the prototype of the mentally deficient troublesome individual takes form - all the more insufferable the less he is restrained by his reasoning powers.

Gaining recognition is not enough to be happy and become harmoniously integrated within a community: it is also necessary to be appreciated. Mentally retarded individuals can be appreciated only through their achievements. We must therefore teach them to work productively. Given the framework of our actual society, even mentally handicapped individuals can find happiness only on the condition that they be allowed to work.

But one might ask: are these mentally deficient subjects capable of carrying on some form of work? The social prognosis of an individual rests on two factors: intelligence and character. The fate of every human being will then depend on his intelligence level and his type of character. Character is usually considered as the decisive factor.

We might add that this is a comforting thought in regards to our mentally deficient patients. In fact, experience has shown that a gentle, diligent, well-mannered sub-normal subject can be more easily integrated in work-activities than a "difficult" adolescent who is more gifted than he is but who tends to be quarrelsome or has an unstable personality.

Obviously, mentally retarded individuals will never be able to follow normal training programs. On the other hand, we must avoid transferring them directly from a school to a place of work; otherwise they will face obstacles of a double nature: first of all deriving from their handicap and secondly from lack of professional training. In their case, vocational rehabilitation takes place in special vocational training workshops. In these centers, we try to encourage their individual inclination for work, their perseverance and manual dexterity, through methods of teaching specially studied in reference to their handicaps. At the same time they learn fundamental notions about the use of the most common tools and of the most simple machines. They are methodically trained to work on a mass-production basis, to produce hand-made or machine-made articles, so that later on they may be able to continue these activities, as simple workmen in factories or other places of work.

The steps leading to professional rehabilitation are amply described in my book: "Different Way of Life for Different People" (The John Day Co. New York).

Fifteen years ago, when our first vocational training workshops first began to function, we were optimistic enough to think we would have no difficulty in finding a job for our better mentally handicapped subjects, specially since there is a trained continual labour shortage in my country. This hope only met with delusions. In spite of our efficient professional training, we were able to find jobs for only a third of them. For the remaining two-thirds, new solutions had to be found. One solution, in similar cases, can be found in sheltered-workshops where mentally deficient individuals can work for an unlimited period.

And so it came about that in 1959 I decided to found the first sheltered-workshop in Zurich, where some 80 psychically handicapped individuals are actually at work. As in all other sheltered-workshops, we also adopt mass-production techniques, and produce hand-made or machine-made articles, for commercial or industrial purposes. The majority of large firms from which we receive orders find themselves in contact with mentally deficient individuals for the first time in their experience: they not only marvel at the productive capacity of our inmates but at their gentleness and good behaviour; in this way more than one prejudice has been eradicated at its source. By promoting personal contacts between mentally handicapped individuals and eminent people in the business world, more and more people will become aware of the fact that these under-privileged members of society can prove themselves to be capable individuals and inspire sympathy.

I must also point out that these business orders should be diversified, so that the work involved will not result monotonous. It is far from our intention to transform these handicapped subjects into so many robots, more and more depressed by the monotony of the easy jobs they have to perform. On the other hand we don't want to create idyllic situations, far removed from reality either, where adults spend their time amusing themselves by creating useless articles, which might eventually be sold at a charity fair. Our aim is not to create amusing jobs, but to work seriously. These are quite different things. The scale of value attached to work is productivity. Well, mentally deficient individuals also have a sense of what is practically useful. They also feel pride in receiving even a minimum wage, as long as it represents something they have honestly earned and not simply something given away. They also feel a boost in their self-confidence with each raise in salary, in the same way as their fathers experience this. Vocational training-workshops should never be on the same level as simple factories or institutions where work therapy is applied, but a happy medium between the two. Naturally this is not easily achieved, specially since we do not impose limits as to the effective capacity of mentally retarded patients when applications are made for admission to our centers. There is only one condition in regards to their admission: they must not be handicapped in their movements. Thus, only bed-ridden patients can be excluded from our workshops.

In evaluating these projects one should bear in mind that our primary aim is not to tap a new source of man-power which has been unproductive to this day. Switzerland, and Italy as well, are not such poor countries that they could not permit themselves the luxury of maintaining a few mentally handicapped individuals. Whoever considers the efforts made in favour of mentally deficient subjects from this point of view is closely related to those who encourage the diffusion of theories such as "life is not worth living". The value of a man cannot be measured by what he produces only, but he is valuable simply because he is a man. This should be considered from the standpoint of his integration within human society. Since they too can become active, producing individuals, these weaker individuals can also become an integrate part of human society. Thus it will become possible for them to lead a life worthy of a human being.

The underlying, deeply significant motive at the root of all our studies and work in connection with mentally deficient individuals can be resumed in a few words: to help him to live as a human being since — in spite of handicaps in his psychic functions, in spite of limited verbal expression, even the weakest, the most fragile individual who finds himself on the lowest grade of the social ladder is still a part of that indefinite end-product, imbued with singular beauty and dignity, which has come to be known as "humanity".

Translation from the original text in German, which we beg to refer to in case of doubt.

ON STUDENT UNREST (*)

by Erik H. Erikson

The immediate causes and local circumstances of student unrest differ so widely on the international scene, that it is not easy to find a proper leverage for the discussion of what may be the *inner* motivations common to rebellious youth in our time. Youth, at any rate, is a rather wide conception, including as it does both late teenage students involved in "indiscipline" in India and, for example, German almost "ewige Studenten" in their late twenties. The overt manifestations of youthful unrest are equally wideranging, from traditional and periodical rioting to the violent actions of youths never before involved in rebellion, and from the display of genuine ethical concern to that of marked amoral behavior. Such contrasting behavior, furthermore, can occur not only in the same individuals at different stages of their lives, but also in otherwise distinct groups which during crises unexpectedly coalesce for purposes of demonstration. Can any one conceptual scheme give at least some initial order to all of these phenomena?

Morality and Ethics in developmental perspective

Let me begin with a somewhat didactic statement concerning one dominant characteristic of youth. In the life cycle of the individual, adolescence is the period when the *moral* precepts absorbed in childhood must be superceded by an *ideological* orientation on which a future commitment to *ethical* behaviour can be based. "Must" is meant to convey that the adolescent is now psychologically ready — cognitively, emotionally, and socially — to envisage himself as part of a world-image in which he, as an individual, has irreversible responsibilities; and that the "confirmation" of such an orientation in some form is a vital necessity for him.

Ethics (to begin with the end product) is marked by the capacity and eagerness to assent wholeheartedly to a system of values which one can understand logically, agree to ideologically, and visualize pragmatically. Along the way, however, young people need to absorb an *ideology* which provides a unified world-image or universe of ideas. The perceived unity may be both utopian and simplistic, and therefore all the more suited to youthful thinking.

All this the child cannot perceive: it is rather forced to absorb a system of *moral values* which it first learns to obey because of the rewards and punishments to be expected and then gradually also because conscience permits of no alternative. Obedience becomes internalized, but there can be little considered assent to the dicta obeyed, wherefore the response to moral pressure, from without and from within, is accompanied by all kinds of ambivalence, and often by a sense of vindictiveness. This must be emphasized, for an aggravated sense of inner guilt thus implanted into children can later seek release by moralistic indignation against others.

In childhood, the burden of morality is balanced by *play* and *phantasy* which permit to a varying degree, a free expression of wishes and aspirations not

* First presented to an international group of college administrators at the Villa Serbelloni in Bellagio, November, 1968. Still unpublished.

subject to adult supervision and hidden even from conscience. Later, school learning offers the acquisition of techniques which promise to support (as they also narrow down) the child's expectations of future *mastery*, and of *power* over others. Only in adolescence, however, can the individual truly envisage his own future, or at any rate, possible futures; it is then that his playfulness (now in possession of powerful new drives and capacities both of a destructive and a constructive nature) begins to experiment with social conditions, testing them cognitively, emotionally, and ideologically. Such playfulness both in sexual matters and on the stage of history can make youth both exhilarating and dangerous; and totalitarian leaders and movements know how to make the most of the enthusiasm *and* the danger. Isolated groups, cliques, and bands, too, can provide at least transitory solidarity in a joint assent to a utopian world-image. While ideological world-images, however, may be approached with prankishness as well as with *play-acting* on the political stage, they are (as we must never forget) endowed with genuine emotion and a deep *commitment* to what is felt to be a necessary rejuvenation of ethical values. This youthful sense of historical necessity has, of course, its counterpart in the needs of society; for societies depend for their rejuvenation on the ideological experiments and commitments of youth. This can take the form of ceremonial *confirmations* of the young in the tradition of the old; of *innovations* in style and manner well in line with the existing order and yet perhaps shocking at the time; or of *radical change* as brought about by conquest, reformation, or revolution.

Thus, charismatic leaders of many kinds can attract among the young those potential *heroes* who are willing to die in the endeavor to kill men or to destroy institutions judged to be inimical to the dominant utopia. Other leaders can arouse an early ethical sense, which wins potential *martyrs*, who will court prison, injury, or death in response to an all-demanding sense of irreversible truth. In some extreme situations, youth is torn between heroism and martyrdom; and in both directions the step from romanticism to deadly involvement is often a short and sometimes an accidental one.

Historical Actuality

Taken together, the developmental and the social necessities sketched here can provide a sense of a *historical actuality* which makes history acutely relevant to youth and youth to history. Once thus engaged, youth and history cannot let go of each other until institutional renewal or change, catastrophe or exhaustion (and perhaps all of these) have taken over. It must be remembered, however, that the young person of yesterday literally is the young adult of today although it is in the very nature of youth to act as if (and to be perceived as if!) it had permanence and immortality: this illusory sense of a self-fulfilling and eternal stage I have called a *psychosocial moratorium*. Yet the more mature young person of today feels that he will and must be the ethical young adult of tomorrow, an insight, which induces in him a deep wish to be led and to be taught by truly ethical adults. Where such leadership fails, group regression can follow — and this is the challenge on which our discussion must focus.

Youth, then, experiences and acts out *the struggle between childhood morality, youthful ideology, and adult ethics* in a great variety of seemingly contradictory roles and beliefs, ranging from the totally positive to the totally negative. Different young people and the same young people at different times can appear to be advancing to a kind of hyperethical adulthood or to be regressing

to amoral or antimoral juvenility or infantility. They can be oblivious of all order to the point of nihilistic vandalism and yet also be willing to perceive and to die for the highest values of some hazy new order; they can be thoughtless to the point of deliberate stupidity and yet also be sharply aware of hidden contradictions, such as the hypocrisies of their elders.

Youth in our time

All of the foregoing, if true, could be so universal as to be non-specific for the phenomena of our time. To be specific, it would have to explain why and how small subgroups, such as activist elites in the academic youth of today, seem to have the power and the capacity to establish the historical actuality of certain concerns and demands on a world-wide basis. This actuality can be measured by three facts: first, these subgroups *have* succeeded in creating convincing slogans, ideals, and images that have appeal or at least interest far beyond their various localities; second, they have been able to impose their slogans and ideals on masses of other students whether according to the local student culture these masses had been previously engaged in some form of activism or not; and third, where these subgroups were not able to achieve their original demands, they have nevertheless succeeded in arousing adult responses of such depth and ambivalence that teachers and administrators have become personally upset to the point of acute traumatising and have become unsure of their obligations to their profession and to society. Obviously, then, any explanation of the dynamics of such youthful action alone would not be comprehensive enough; the evidence rather seems to indicate that youthful action would be impossible both in conception and execution were it not for specific adult reactions which are an intrinsic part of the historical actuality; for often such actuality is only confirmed by the actions of those who are challenged by youth.

The present situation, then, can be understood only on the assumption that large-scale developments in our time are giving universal relevance to the struggle of (mainly academic) youth for a new ethics. Such developments have been discussed by others; I am not competent to do so. But I must mention a few:

- a) New concepts of heroism and martyrdom such as the guerilla warfare of unarmed or poorly-armed bands against hyperarmed hyperorganizations.
- b) A world-wide mistrust on the part of pre-industrial and post-industrial youth in the competency of their parent generation which with all its righteousness and "know-how" really finds itself caught in changes and conditions both unpredictable and unsolvable.
- c) A shift in the meaning of the life stages in a fast-changing world of specialization and expertise: where an "adolescensculus," in the past, was a creature in a moratorium, he now becomes more and more the participant in an autonomous stage of life. This autonomy is vastly increased by the fact that sexual life is becoming even more independent of procreation, with a resulting disappearance of the sexual double-standard: both women and men can now in principle freely choose their sexual style as well as the time of their commitment to progeny. On the other hand, this newly won autonomy is counteracted by the necessity to make an early commitment to an occupational or professional identity. And where apprenticeship and specialization once promised a distinct identity within a defined ethics, it now often seems to demand an early standardization of experience, with a blunting of both ideological awareness and ethical decision.

d) The resulting danger of masses of young people being drawn into early compromises with specialization, conformity, and premature success, and thus losing that capacity for a renewal of humanist values without which, they feel, universal technocracy could become a new serfdom, malignant precisely because of the affluence it promises.

e) The special elaboration and prolongation of the stage of youth in a world-wide new academic subculture which gives masses of young people new forms of autonomous, if transitory, power.

f) Last, but by no means least, war as an institution is losing its authenticity on a large scale, with the result that images of heroism and martyrdom are transferred to internal issues.

All of these developments permit and force well-to-do academic youth to engage in a more concerted exercise of the age-old prerogative to take the side of the dispossessed and thus to give to their own rebellion the (often sincere) cloak of radical altruism. Only that today we see in this same youth, depending on local conditions, an almost desperate search for such masses of dispossessed as might welcome "liberation" from, rather than cohesion with, the "establishment." In this predicament, activist youth often regresses, historically speaking, in the name of "the people", although modern life has united former classes into a classlessness of consumership very different from the dream of joint producership for which millions have died. On the other hand, standardization with the help of the media of communication is so much part of our time that even the most individualistic young person can be submerged (like a modern Narcissus) in his own standardized image, whether the standardization is based on historical models (i.e., Edwardians or Revolutionaries) or on relatively new phenomena (i.e., psychedelics). Here, especially, the "types" of dissent vary from place to place.

Much of the present conflict in academic life seems to be based on a late and yet powerful awareness that literacy in its widest sense has made educated man a recorder and professor of traditional meanings while robbing him of the capacity to mean what he says and to say what he "really" means — that is, to profess "here I stand." The difference between old-time morality and new ethics is best expressed by the juxtaposition of the statements: "It is written, that" and "But I say unto you." The Reformation thus has run full cycle: the printed and durable pamphlet is being replaced by the painted placard dedicated to the moment. For where change was once a transitional stage to a regained equilibrium in line with ancient tradition, change is now self-sustaining, and no generation can predict what the world will look like to the next, although strenuous attempts abound to visualize at least the year 2000. But this also means that youth feels in need of an ethical flexibility, a capacity for "being with it", and for the inspiration of fleeting happenings which convey the depth and often the illusion of fellowship here and now, and invite a variety of group regressions.

A typology of group-regression

I will now attempt to classify certain basic positions discernible in groups of youthful dissenters along a continuum that reaches from a *negative preoccupation with infantile morality* to a *positive affirmation of ethical principles*.

It is as though all these youths were attempting to reach, by way of ideological efforts, a ledge of ethical certainty, and when that remains out of reach or when helping hands prove elusive, they slip back to earlier footholds which

they struggle to get away from with all manner of premoral, amoral, and anti-moral behavior. If I speak here of retrogressions, however, I will try to resist the clinical habit of thinking primarily of the neurotic, psychotic, and addictive symptomatology which can befall individuals in all the categories to be mentioned. That each individual young person is in danger of falling back into the despair of alienation and isolation is only too obvious; yet adolescent alternatives which a decade or so ago were still matters of mute inner protest, only indirectly expressed in idiosyncratic personal symptoms, now, it seems, are externalized on a large scale, shared with the like-minded and joined with acute historical problems. For this reason it is vitally important that we, as educators and as clinicians, try to understand the singular importance of ideological movements endowed with historical actuality; for they not only seem to save alienated youth from the perdition of the meaninglessness and isolation of neurosis, they also challenge us to understand what correctives are needed in our own professions. These, obviously, go beyond (or should go beyond) anything youth is "demanding". While we are on the defensive, or remain at best adaptive, we cannot hope to be convincing.

I will take the motto best describing the *ethical position* from an impressive new ritual. The following excerpt is from the sermon, "A Time to Say No", that Michael K. Ferber delivered at the antidraft service in Boston's Arlington Street Church on October 16, 1967. This speech is one of the counts in the government's indictment against him for conspiracy:

But what I wish to speak about now is what goes *beyond our saying No*, for no matter how loudly we all say it, no matter what ceremony we perform around our saying it, we will not become a community among ourselves nor effective agents for changing our country *if a negative is all we share*. Albert Camus said that the rebel, who says No, is also one who says Yes, and that when he draws a line beyond which he will refuse to cooperate he is affirming the values on the other side of that line. For us who come here today, what is it that we affirm, *what is it to which we can say Yes?*

I have italicized those simple affirmative phrases which make this statement prototypical for the ethical position which I am convinced almost all young people involved in unrest are striving for. But it must be pointed out that Ferber, while he was speaking for the young who were acting like himself, offered his declaration not in a setting exclusively populated by young people: next to him were (to mention only the academic figures) a university chaplain who was reaffirming his Christianity, and a famous baby doctor, who had made more people say yes to more babies with more practical awareness than had any doctor in history before him: whatever we think of his concrete action, the outrage of his No was fully matched by the lifelong affirmation of his Yes.

I believe the ethical Yes to be present in many forms of unrest, even where group retrogressions to destructive negation are more obvious. And here we should remember that a certain retrogressiveness is part of all ideological group formation: if much of ethical youth, before our eyes, seems to indulge in illogical and amoral patterns, so are we, in their eyes, far regressed from the lofty ethical position which we held when we entered into a career of "professing".

I have begun with the Boston Resisters because of my conviction that wherever a disciplined civil resistance to a circumscribed nationwide grievance dominates the orientation, a group retrogression is the least likely to occur. But, of course, there are many kinds of resisters, and any one person or act may be dominated by a number of orientations at the same time. Most obvious, in the context of resistance, is the danger of an arbitrary choice of an exhibi-

tionistic act from a variety of motives which do not add up to a sustaining Yes, with methods uncoordinated with the actions of others, and without sufficient awareness of the lifelong consequences for either oneself or others.

For mere contrast, let me now choose as an example of the *pre-moral* position an orientation which is exposed to the deepest personal and group regression: the Hippie orientation. Again I emphasize that I am not speaking here of a type of person nor of one communal group: obviously some aspects of a Hippie orientation, particularly in unison with modern music and Wanderschaft, are permeating youth anywhere. The Hippies as a community, however, have attempted to retreat from traditional morality to a kind of pre-moral subculture which bases a new ethics on naturalness, spontaneity, and mutual closeness: love, in one word. In the face of widespread mechanical and logical specialization they cultivate the senses and the sensory and sensual aspects of sexuality, enacting (both mockingly and in utmost sincerity) a utopia which relieves man from any sense of having been driven out of Paradise: he (and she) need not be ashamed of being naked, and may ignore the Sündenfall — the fall from grace. No wonder that the rest of the world is fascinated; for no doubt, in this era of mechanization, the Hippies have found a way of speaking to a latent part of man's consciousness, a part often secretly felt to be better and simpler than the visible results of success and conformity.

On the other hand, the pre-moral orientation sketched here brings with it a partial regression not only to a dominance of the sensory and sensual life but also to that of an infantile kind of dependency. In its proper developmental place (that is, in infancy) this mode was helpful in providing the right food, the proper care and an unlimited amount of mother-love. All of this the Hippie orientation attempts to replace with the motherly warmth of communal love, and with the nourishment of phantasy by drugs. Mistaking men for flowers this orientation takes the illustration of the lilies in the field so literally that its adherents forget to feed themselves properly, and become even more dependent on being babied by drugs. And when the dream of paradise becomes dependent on the drug trade and suffers the depravity characterizing the borderlines of ill-defined legal issues, a vicious combination is apt to destroy what health the movement prophesied. Nevertheless, I do not believe that the message of the Hippies (any more than the messages of the German Wandervoegel, of the European "artists," and of certain revivalist groups of the past) has been lost on our time.

If it were not for their equal distance from pragmatic morality there could be no sharper contrast between the *pre-moral* orientation just sketched and the *amoral* one to be considered next. Yet, as pointed out, we find these orientations alternating in the same individuals and, insofar as they are personified by groups, often joined in demonstrations. Thus, the Hippies and the Motorcycle Gangs have been seen to dwell together like the lambs and the lions: this they do in the common hope that any group which can successfully negate the morality of centuries must be destined to be a new species, whether of flower-children or of mechanized supermen. If the amoral orientation, however, has more obviously sinister trends it is because it is more deliberately destructive than implicitly self-destructive; it includes a sincere belief in the goodness both of physical violence and of defiant defamation. Insofar as the morality of childhood is rooted in shame and self-doubt reinforced by contemptuous and punitive adults, this orientation attempts to effect a complete turning of the tables: instead of shame, it sports shamelessness; instead of obedience, defiance; instead of respect, contempt. This deliberate display of the worst arouses, of course, the worst in others, wherefore any confrontation with "society" turns

into a match of two orientations which confirm each other: for the deliberate amoralist finds himself, sooner or later, confronted not by the moral people whom he would like to expose, but by those who are paid to do the "dirty work" for moral people — namely, the police; and the police, of course, oblige the amoral phantasy-life, because they behave like the externalized version of a brutal conscience. In this, they often react to the deliberate use by the amoral group not only of "obscene" words but on occasion also of fecal matter as weapons of contempt. That once "dirty" children should throw the epithet of "pigs" at the police, is a simple enough reversal, especially if interspersed with "mother-fucker."

I hope that I will not be misunderstood. I am not calling all those who act out an amoral orientation personally amoral, or devoid of an ethical orientation. On the contrary, the very decision to behave in an amoral fashion and systematically so, *can* be in part an ethical one, especially where the conviction prevails that the exposure of the hypocrisies of law enforcement as well as of moral orderliness is a first step to national or racial rejuvenation. Often such a conviction is at least explainable as a reaction to a childhood milieu which was totally overshadowed (as is that of most black people in my country) by the illegal violence of righteous people, including the violence of uniformed men employed by "nice" people for the specific purpose of using the law for the protection of privileged corruption. Thus, the amoral position naturally impresses many youths as more heroic or even ethical than the stance of many conformists, who enjoy a freedom and a safety they have never had to fight for.

I would call a fourth orientation, with intended paradoxicality, the *antimoralist moralist* one. Its adherents, far from behaving amorally, behave in fact hypermorally, but always in a campaign against the assumed moralism of older and established people. In a recent number of the Harvard Crimson, one member of the academic community took another to task for what he considered an illogical and unethical point of view. He wrote him: "What truly bothers me is the quality and logic of your justification...", "I find thoroughly naive your attempt to distinguish between...", "Still more ludicrous is the characterisation in your letter...", "Even if I were to grant you this point for the sake of argument...", "What most... experts lack is a discernible sense of responsibility...". If I add that this is a *student* writing to one of the most distinguished *professors*, it must be obvious that it is not equality of discourse which is sought here but a total turning against the "authority" of phrases habitually employed by an overweening schoolmaster. This, in turn, seems typical for the stance employed by many self-appointed revolutionaries who, especially in the absence of clear issues to act upon, appoint a given man or group as "guilty". Now, among the antimoralists and the hypermoralists, too, there are many ethical individuals who *use* these methods without being absorbed by them; but even the most appealing young people with the clearest intelligence and the most ethical intentions are in perpetual danger of becoming involved in the kind of group retrogression which eventually leads to the "liquidation" of friends by friends.

e) Lastly, I must reach outside the ranks of those acutely involved in student unrest and speak of that vast majority of students who, at this point, may be only latently "upset". Most of them, of course, come to the university in order to acquire methodologies and techniques and do not feel acutely alienated from an industrial world or even a military-industrial complex as long as their studies promise them active participation and advancement in it. Whether or not an industrial society as such harbors more alienation than did other techno-

logies, is probably a moot question. It is quite possible (if a comparison *could*, indeed, be made), that man as a hunter, fisherman, or peasant suffered no less estrangement, in his own way, than man the trader or worker. That man the intellectual, however, both experiences and detects more estrangement than other men accept as their human lot — that, in fact, may be one of the reasons why increased contact with intellectuality on a larger scale supports unrest and revolt. At any rate, since it is my purpose to classify such revolt on a continuum from hyperethical to premoral orientations, we may well find in the middle a technological orientation which I would call *moral pragmatism*. It exists in those who are preoccupied with the acquisition of one of the occupational specialities which attempt to come to grips with the concrete complexities of modern life, be it production or distribution, transportation or communication, medicine or law: for them, (as in all stages of technology from primitive to industrial) what "works" is good, and to make things work, to improve techniques, and to correct what does not work is all a man can do. Morality, Ideology, and Ethics, too, must be fitted into the cycle of work activity, problems of sin or salvation being delegated to a religiosity which is never in conflict with habit and reason, and which rewards him who helps himself (in both meanings of the phrase). In an era of progress, goodness resides in being in motion and in setting things in motion whether behind a wheel or at a job which makes wheels go round. Thus, science and technology reward many with a sense of being at one with an energetic cosmos in motion and thus in league with a divine engineering power which has replaced what once was "divine nature." Above all it is hard and joint work which justifies man's sense of progress and of the eventual manageability of modern complexities, including the all-present and all-denied nuclear threat. A large part of academic youth, especially in the professional schools, lives by this view; and where "upset" youth insists on the necessity to upset the workings of production, pragmatic majorities may sooner or later insist on the maintenance of "law and order," if necessary by reactionary regimentation. If there is any retrogression in the pragmatic position it may well be that the majority of those given to moral pragmatism in the context of advancing technology are apt to perpetuate the virtues of the school child which they extend into adolescence and apprenticeship; but they probably escape, more than others, that adolescent estrangement which I have called Identity-Confusion.

It is against this general background that one must review, then, the concerns and the antics of those who would want to change modern man very drastically, while either *dropping out* temporarily from the work assigned to them, or demanding vociferously that academic teaching and learning be alerted to a general sense of malaise and meaninglessness and be, in fact, in the forefront of humanist ideals.

And the professors

Which brings us to us, the professors. If my diagnosis of prevalent retrogressions is correct, then they must be assumed to have their counterparts in us. These appear partially as reverberations of our own half-fulfilled youth which make us idealize the motives of the young; and partially they appear in the form of an angry rejection of the young people before us. As we perceive that much of youth deeply mistrusts us, we are shocked to note that we mistrust ourselves, whether we are overcome by a new sense of awe before eternal youth, or by a redoubled fatigue which reminds us that nothing ever really comes of youthful utopias.

The mixture of feelings exposes us to a dangerous doubt as to when to be "permissive" and where to "draw the line." And this is exactly where youth, at its worst, wants us. For if, indeed, a more or less unconvinced and unconvincing permissiveness or grudging moral inaction on the part of the parent generation has anything to do with the unrest of youth, then I would believe that this unrest tests the limits of our permissiveness for the exact point where and when we are going to turn into angry authoritarians anyway or, for that matter, call the police. What is at stake, then, is the *genuineness* of our strictness as well as of our permissiveness.

Given the obvious fact that we are a generation of parents and teachers not guided by ideology, we are asked to prove that our strictness is based on our own ethical commitments and on insights commensurate with our knowledge; that our indignation is more than a retrogression to unreconstructed moralism; and that our permissiveness is really more than a forced suspension of our indignation. And, indeed, parents who themselves were treated punitively, cannot in one generation (or in two) overcome the need to relieve their punitive conscience in outbursts against their children — outbursts for which the parent often feels guiltier than the child. This conflict of inner authority, I believe, is now built into the younger generations: their very consciences are alternately too permissive and too punitive, and in order to clarify their own wavering, they must challenge ours. This, of course, calls for firmness, but we must also understand that what is at stake is not our professional esteem (even their own parents' "success" in the world has become less than relevant to some of the young) but our inner authority as adults.

It is, therefore, of great importance that we should gain what insight we can muster into our relationship to our own youth: do we not feel that we have, indeed, abandoned some of our ethical concerns for the sake of our advancement? In enjoying academic and professional freedom under the protection of the "establishment", what deals have we made unknowingly or quite knowingly, and with what questionable profit? And most of all: what mockery have we made of our student days in trying to remain young in some superficial and ritualized ways, forgetting maybe what universities truly stand for? Are we still "professing" in addition to learning and teaching facts and methods? Are we preserving "universities" as autonomous communities which stand *between* the parents and the state, as guardians and guides of the continued need for ethical reorientation? Have we, maybe, given in too much both to parents *and* to the state, letting the middle ground erode in both directions?

I am not saying that the students are necessarily "right" in the sense that they know what they are doing or indeed would know better how to do what we have done — far from it. But their challenge and our doubts are two sides of the same universal question: the role of education in a technocratic world. If so, should we not, instead of spending our energies defending ourselves against youth that challenges, make it our business to anticipate and to *teach* the relation of our various professional competencies to the ethical tasks of our day? Academic life now seems to depend on a communality of older students and younger faculty in which the social implications of all specialities must be spelled out continuously through newly created permanent bodies of discourse and planning.

To all the obvious factors pointing to this necessity I have undertaken to add a psychological rationale which, I fear, will appear to some of you to be too much determined both by my field and by the situation in my country. But I trust that these thoughts will bear translation into the specific professional and national concerns of my readers in other countries.

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